

THE NOVELS
AND MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF DANIEL DE FOE.

VOLUME THE THIRTEENTH.

THE HISTORY
AND REALITY OF APPARITIONS.

THE NOVELS
AND
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
DANIEL DE FOE.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, LITERARY
PREFACES TO THE VARIOUS PIECES, ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, ETC.
INCLUDING ALL CONTAINED IN THE EDITION ATTRIBUTED TO

THE LATE SIR WALTER SCOTT,

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

VOL. XIII.

THE HISTORY
AND REALITY OF APPARITIONS.



OXFORD:

PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS,

FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.

1840.

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IN ONE VOLUME.

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1849.

THE
Secrets of the Invisible World Disclos'd:
OR, AN
UNIVERSAL HISTORY
OF
APPARITIONS
SACRED and PROPANE,
Under all Denominations;

WHETHER,
Angelical, Diabolical, or Human Souls departed.

SHEWING

- I. THEIR various Returns to this World; with sure Rules to know, by their *Manner of Appearing*, if they are *Good or Evil* ones.
- II. THE Differences of the Apparitions of Antient and Modern Times; and an Enquiry into the Scriptural Doctrine of Spirits.
- III. THE many Species of Apparitions, their real Existence, and Operations by Divine Appointment.
- IV. THE Nature of seeing Ghosts before, and after, Death; and how we should behave towards them.
- V. THE Effects of Fancy, Vapours, Dreams, Hyppo, and of real, or imaginary Appearances.
- VI. A Collection of the most Authentic Relations of Apparitions, particularly that surprising One attested by the learned Dr. Scott.

By ANDREW MORETON, Esq;

*SPIRITS in whatsoever Shape they chuse,
Dilated or Condens'd, Bright or Obscure,
Can execute their Airy Purposes,
And Works of Love or Enmity fulfil.*

MILTON.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. CLARKE, at the *Royal Exchange*; A. MILLAR, over against *St. Clement's Church* in the *Strand*; and J. BRINDLEY, in *New-Bond-Street*.

PREFACE.

A VERY short preface may suffice to a work of this nature. Spectre and apparition make a great noise in the world; and have, at least formerly, had a great influence among us.

Between our ancestors' laying too much stress upon them, and the present age endeavouring wholly to explode and despise them, the world seems hardly ever to have come at a right understanding about them.

Some despise them in such an extraordinary manner, that they pretend to wish for nothing more than to be convinced by demonstration; as if nothing but seeing the Devil could satisfy them there was such a person; and nothing is more wonderful to me, in the whole system of spirits, than that Satan does not think fit to justify the reality of his being, by appearing to such in some of his worst figures, and tell them in full grimace who he is, when I doubt not but they would be as full of the panic as other people.

Again, some people are so horribly frightened at the very mention of an apparition, that they cannot go two steps in the dark, or in the dusk of the evening, without looking behind them; and if they

see but a bat fly, they think of the Devil, because of its wings ; and as for a screech-owl, at its first appearance, they make no scruple of running into the house in a fright, and affirming they have seen the Devil.

How to bring the world to a right temper between these extremes is a difficulty we cannot answer for ; but if setting things in a true light, between imagination and solid foundation, will assist towards it, we hope this work may have some success.

Not that I expect to fortify my readers, and establish their minds against the fears of what they may see, so that they shall make an apparition of the Devil familiar to them ; there is such a kind of aversion in the minds of men to the angel of light, that nobody cares to see him in imagination, much less to be forced to see him whether they will or no.

But now, on the other hand, if it is true that the Devil very rarely does appear, that almost all real apparitions are of friendly and assisting angels, and come of a kind and beneficent errand to us, and that therefore we need not be so terrified at them as we are ; if it be true that when any evil spirit does appear, it is limited by a superior power, and can do us no harm without special license ; methinks this should take off the terror from our minds, and cause us to arm our souls with resolution enough to meet the Devil, whatever shape he thinks fit to appear in : for I must tell you, good people, as was said in another case, he that is not

able to see the Devil in whatever shape he is pleased to appear in, is not really qualified to live in this world, no, not in the quality of a common inhabitant.

But the mistake lies chiefly here, that we either will allow no apparition at all, or will have every apparition be the Devil; as if none of the inhabitants of the world above, were able to show themselves here, or had any business among us, but the Devil, who I am of the opinion has really less business here than any of them all; nay, we have some reason to believe he has indeed no business here at all, but that of a roaring lion, &c., and therefore if you meet him, and had courage for it, the properest question you could ask him would be, not, In the name of God, what art thou? but, In the name of God, what business hast thou here? Bid him be gone to his den, and tell him you will pray to God to chain him up else: I dare say he would turn tail at such an attack seriously made; and it would be the best way in the world to get rid of him.

That we may then be perfectly easy about this undetermined thing called apparition, I have endeavoured here to bring the thing into a narrow compass, and to set it in a true light. I have first given you several specimens of real apparitions well attested, and the truth of them so affirmed, that they may be depended upon: if in any of them I am not so well assured of the fact, though they may be as certain, yet I have frankly told you so, and adhered to the moral only: but all together may

convince the reader of the reason and reality of the thing itself.

On the other hand, I have given you specimens of those amusements and delusions which have been put upon the world for apparitions ; and you may see the difference is so notorious, (whether the cheat be political or whimsical, magical or imaginary,) that no man can be easily deceived, that will but make use of the eyes of his understanding, as well as of those in his head.

If, after all, you will give up your reason to your fancy, which at best is but a distemper, and that you will call every shadow an apparition, and every apparition a Devil, you must be content to be the subject of constant delusion ; for he that will imagine he sees the Devil always about him, whether Satan is really near him or no, shall never want walking shadows to amuse him, till he really calls up the Devil he fears, and bespeaks the mischief he was before in danger of.

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THE HISTORY AND REALITY

OF

APPARITIONS.



INTRODUCTION.

Of apparitions in general : the certainty and nature of them.

OF all the arcana of the invisible world I know no one thing about which more has been said, and less understood, than this of apparition : it is divided so much between the appearance of good, and the apparition of bad spirits, that our thoughts are strangely confused about it.

First ; we make a great deal of difficulty to resolve whether there are any such things as apparitions or no ; and some people are for reducing them all into fancy, whimsey, and the vapours ; and so, shutting the door against apparitions in general, they resolve to receive no visits from the invisible world, nor to have any acquaintance with its inhabitants till they come there. Not satisfied with that, they resolve for us all, as well as for themselves, and will have it, that because they have no notion of it themselves, therefore there is really no such thing ; and this they have advanced with great assurance, as well in print as in other discourses. I name nobody.

I have, I believe, as true a notion of the power of imagination as I ought to have, and you shall hear further from me upon that head ; I believe we form as many apparitions in our fancies, as we see really with our eyes, and a great many more ; nay, our imaginations sometimes are very diligent to embark the eyes, and the ears too, in the delusion, and persuade us to believe we see spectres and appearances, and hear noises and voices, when, indeed, neither the Devil or any other spirit, good or bad, has troubled themselves about us.

But it does not follow from thence that therefore there are no such things in nature ; that there is no intercourse or communication between the world of spirits and the world we live in ; that the inhabitants of the invisible spaces, be those where you please, have no converse with us, and that they never take the liberty to step down upon this globe, or to visit their friends here ; and, in short, that they have nothing to do with or say to us, or we with or to them. The inquiry, is not, as I take it, whether they do really come hither or no, but who they are that do come ?

Spirit is certainly something that we do not fully understand, in our present confined circumstances ; and as we do not fully understand the thing, so neither can we distinguish of its operations. As we at present conceive of it, it is an unrestrained, unlimited being, except by such laws of the invisible state which at present we know little of ; its way of conversing we know nothing of, other than this, that we believe, and indeed see reason for it, that it can act in an invisible and imperceptible manner ; it moves without being prescribed or limited by space, it can come and not be seen, go and not be perceived ; it is not to be shut in by doors, or shut out by bolts and bars ; in a word, it is unconfined by all those methods which we confine our actions by, or

by which we understand ourselves to be limited and prescribed.

Yet, notwithstanding all this, it converses here, is with us, and among us ; corresponds, though unembodied, with our spirits, which are embodied ; and this conversing is by not only an invisible, but to us an inconceivable way ; it is neither tied down to speech or to vision, but moving in a superior orb, conveys its meaning to our understandings, its measures to our conceptions ; deals with the imagination, and works it up to receive such impressions as serve for its purpose ; and yet at the same time we are perfectly passive, and have no agency in, or knowledge of the matter.

By this silent converse all the kind notices of approaching evil or good are conveyed to us, which are sometimes so evident, and come with such an irresistible force upon the mind, that we must be more than stupid if we do not perceive them ; and if we are not extremely wanting to ourselves, we may take such due warning by them as to avoid the evils which we had notice of in that manner, and to embrace the good that is offered to us. Nor are there many people alive who can deny but they have had such notices, by which, if they had given due attention to them, they had been assisted to save themselves from the mischiefs which followed ; or had, on the other hand, taken hold of such and such advantages as had been offered for their good ; for it is certainly one of the grand and most important difficulties of human life to know whether such or such things, which present in our ordinary or extraordinary circumstances, are for our good, as they seem to be, and as may be pretended, or not, and whether it is proper for us to accept them or no ; and many unhappily stand in the way of their own prosperity for want of knowing what to accept of and what to refuse.

Now by what agency must it be that we have directions for good or foreboding thoughts of mischiefs which attend us, and which it is otherwise impossible we should know anything of, if some intelligent being who can see into futurity had not conveyed the apprehensions into the mind, and had not caused the emotion which alarms the soul?

And how should that intelligent being, whatever it is, convey these forebodings and sudden misgivings, as we rightly call them, into the mind, if there was not a certain correspondence between them, a way of talking perfectly unintelligible to us, uncommon, and without the help of sounds or any other perceptible way?

For spirits without the helps of voice converse.

As thus there is a converse of spirits, an intelligence, or call it what you please, between our spirits embodied and cased up in flesh and the spirits unembodied, who inhabit the unknown mazes of the invisible world, those coasts which our geography cannot describe, who between somewhere and nowhere dwell, none of us know where, and yet we are sure must have locality, and, for aught we know, are very near us; why should it be thought so strange a thing that those spirits should be able to take upon them an outside or case? why should they not be able, on occasion, or when they think fit, to dress themselves up as we do, *à la masquerade*, in a habit disguised like flesh and blood, to deceive human sight, so as to make themselves visible to us? As they are free spirits, why may they not be like what my lord Rochester expresses in another case,

A spirit free to choose for their own share,
What case of flesh and blood they please to wear?

Roch. Sat. against Man.

I do not by this affirm that it is so, and that a spirit may thus assume a real case of flesh and blood; for I resolve to affirm nothing that will not bear a proof, and to suggest nothing without probability, in all this work.

But it is enough to the present purpose if these invisible inhabitants can assume an appearance, a form, sufficient to make them perceptible to us; at the same time not being at all vested with any substance, much less of the species which they represent.

If they can assume a visible form, as I see no reason to say they cannot, there is no room then to doubt of the reality of their appearing; because what may be we cannot but believe sometimes has been, as what has been, we are sure may be.

To say that the unembodied spirits can have nothing to do with us, and that we have reason to believe they are not at all acquainted with human affairs, is to say what no man can be assured of, and therefore is begging the question in the grossest manner.

I shall therefore spend but very little time to prove or to argue for the reality of apparition. Let Mr. Glanville and his antagonists, the Hobbists and Sadducees of those times, be your disputants upon that subject; nor shall I trouble you with much antiquity or history: a little that is most unexceptionable may be necessary. If there is an invisible world, and if spirits residing or inhabiting are allowed to be there, or placed there by the supreme governing power of the universe, it will be hard to prove that it is impossible they should come hither, or that they should not have liberty to show themselves here, and converse in this globe, as well as in all the other globes or worlds, which, for aught we know, are to be found in that immense space; reason does not exclude them, nature yields to the

possibility, and experience with a cloud of witnesses in all ages confirm the reality of the affirmative.

The question therefore before me is not so much whether there are any such things as apparitions of spirits; but who, and what, and from whence they are; what business they come about, who sends them or directs them, and how and in what manner we ought to think and act, and behave about them, and to them; and this is the substance of this undertaking.

The angels are said to be ministering spirits, and we know they have been made use of (as such) on many occasions, by the superior appointment of him that created them; why then it may not be thought fit by the same power, to make or substitute a ministration of these unembodied spirits to the service of the embodied souls of men, which are also God's creatures, we cannot tell.

Upon what foot, and to what end, either on their side or on ours, and from what appointment, is very difficult to ascertain; and yet some probable guesses might be made at it too, if it was the proper work before me; but I am rather adjusting the fact, and ascertaining the reality of apparitions in general, than inquiring into the reasons of them; either the reasons in nature, or in providence, which are perhaps further out of our reach than some people imagine.

It is as difficult too to determine whether the spirits that appear are good or evil, or both; the only conclusion upon that point is to be made from the errand they come about; and it is a very just conclusion I think; for if a spirit or apparition comes to or haunts us only to terrify and affright, to fill the mind with horror, and the house with disorder, we cannot reasonably suppose that to be a good spirit; and on the other hand, if it comes to direct to any

good, or to forewarn and preserve from any approaching evil, it cannot then be reasonable to suppose it is an evil spirit.

The story of an apparition disturbing a young gentleman, at or near Cambridge, is remarkable to this purpose: he set up, it seems, for a kind of professed atheism; but hearing a voice, supposed it was the Devil spoke to him, and yet owned that the voice assured him there was a God, and bid him repent. It was a most incongruous suggestion, that the Devil should come volunteer to an atheist, and bid him repent; or that the Devil should, with a like freedom, assert the being of a God.

If then it was a real apparition of, or a voice from, an invisible spirit; (I say if, because it might be a phantom of his own imagination,) it must be from a good spirit, or from an evil spirit overruled by a superior and beneficent power; and if that were to be supposed, then it would justify our taking further notice of those things called voices and apparitions, than I shall venture to advise.

The possibility, however, of apparitions, and the certainty of a world of spirits, as I can by no means doubt, so I shall take up none of your time to answer the objections and cavils of other people about it; because I think the evidence will amount to a demonstration of the facts, and demonstration puts an end to argument.

CHAP. I.

Of apparitions in particular, the reality of them, their antiquity, and the difference between the apparitions of former times, and those which we may call modern, with something of the reason and occasion of that difference.

NOTHING can be a stronger testimony of the reality of apparitions in general, than to descend to the particular appearances which we are assured have been seen and conversed with from the superior world. And first I begin with such as have been evidently from heaven itself, and by the sovereign appointment of providence upon extraordinary occasions. And though I shall trouble my readers with as little as possible out of Scripture, especially at the beginning of my work, because I am unwilling they should throw it by before they read it out, which there would be some danger of, if I should begin too grave; yet, as I cannot go back to originals, or begin at the beginning, without a little history out of those ancient times, you must bear with my just naming the sacred historians. I will be as short as I can.

Nothing is more certain, if the Scripture is at all to be believed among us, than that God himself was pleased, in the infancy of things; to appear visibly, and in form, to several persons, and on several occasions, upon earth, assuming or taking up the shape of his creature man, when he thought fit to converse with him, that he might not be a terror to him.

Thus Adam was frequently visited in Eden, and we have no room to doubt but it was in a visible form, because Adam both heard him speak, and as the text says, *They heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day.* Gen. iii. 8.

By all the history of the antediluvian world, we have reason to believe that as God did frequently speak to men, so he as frequently appeared to them; for we find they conversed with God face to face; Cain, though wicked, talked with God, and God with him, when he was charged with the murder of his brother Abel; and the text is express, Gen. iv. 16, that after it, *Cain went out from the presence of the Lord.* So that God not only spoke to him by a voice, but was visible and present to him.

And as I must carry the Devil along with me, hand in hand, in every period of time, so even in Paradise the Devil assumed a shape. For we must allow Satan to be a spirit, and indeed we have good reason to say he is a spirit, free to choose what case of flesh and blood he pleases to put on, or at least seemingly to put on.

Thus he without doubt spoke in the mouth of the serpent in the garden, or else took upon himself that shape, though the former is the most probable; because the serpent was cursed for being but the instrument, however passive he might be.

Mr. Milton makes no doubt of the Devil's assuming a shape of any kind, beast as well as man, when he brings him in whispering to Eve in her sleep, and placing himself close at her ear, in the shape of a toad, which he expresses in his sublime poem, and with that inimitable manner, peculiar to himself.

First he brings Satan leaping over the mound or fence, which God had placed round the garden, as a wolf leaps over the hurdles into a sheepfold; and

being gotten into Paradise, he places himself upon the tree of life in the shape of a raven or cormorant. There's the Devil's first apparition.

Thence he views the whole garden, and all the creatures in it, and at last he spies Adam and Eve, to his great surprise. But after a while spent in admiring their form, their beauty, felicity and innocence, as he resolved to ruin them, so he comes down from the tree to be nearer them; and mixing among the cattle, where he takes upon him now one shape, then another, as it best suited him, to be near Adam and Eve, and yet to be unperceived by them; this the poet describes thus;

Then from his lofty stand on that high tree,
Down he alights among the sportful herd
Of those four-footed kinds; himself now one,
Now other, as their shape best serv'd his end
Nearer to view his prey, and unespied
To mark what of their state he more might learn.

————— About them round,

A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;

Then as a tiger, —————

Milt. Parad. Lost lib. iv. ver. 395.

Again, when he makes the angels find Satan, as I have observed, whispering evil thoughts to Eve in a dream, and in her sleep, he says,

————— Him there they found,

Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve;

Assaying, by his devilish art, to reach

The organs of her fancy, and with them forge

Illusions, as he list, phantasms, and dreams.

Ib. ver. 799.

It is evident then, that the Devil can assume a shape, whether of man or beast, and appear as such in order to disguise himself from our sight. We shall have a further account of him presently, but in the mean time let us see higher, and go into the after-ages.

Abraham is the first example, after Noah, of an open converse with his Maker; and the Scripture distinguishes the very manner; sometimes it is said that the *Lord had said to Abram*, Gen. xii. i., and again, the *Lord said to Abram*, Gen. xiii. 14; again, *The word of the Lord came to Abram*, and *the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision*, Gen. xi. 4, to the 7th.

But there are other express places in which it is said in plain words, God appeared to him. Gen. xii. 7; *The Lord appeared unto Abram*: and Gen. xvii. 1. *The Lord appeared to Abram, and said unto him*: and ver. 22. *And he left off talking with him, and God went up from Abraham*. It is undeniable that God appeared, and was with him, and left off talking with him, and went from him: all marks of a visible apparition.

Again, chap. xviii. Here it is still more explicit, and God not only appeared, but appeared in a human shape. Ver. 1. *And the Lord appeared to him in the plains of Mamre, as he sat in the door of his tent*. First it is said, *He lift up his eyes and looked, and, behold, three men stood by him*. So visible were they, that he entertains them, invites them to dinner, and prepares a fat calf to be dressed, and cakes, and butter, and milk. In short, he made a feast; so much was he, as it may be said, deluded; so real was the appearance; nay, when he set it all before them, it is said they did eat.

Now, ver. 13. it is said expressly one of these was the Lord; nay, in the original it is Jehovah; that was when he charged Sarah with laughing, and she denied it.

N. B. Sarah was the first of human kind that ever told God a lie to his face. But she was frightened, that's certain; the text says so.

In the 17th verse, when God tells Abraham what he had resolved to do to Sodom, it is plain he speaks in

the first person, as God ; *And the Lord said, shall I hide from Abraham the thing that I do?* Hereupon Abraham takes upon him to plead with God in behalf of Sodom ; and in this he speaks as to God himself, ver. 30. *O let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak :* and before that, ver. 27. *Behold now I have taken upon me to speak unto the Lord, which am but dust and ashes.*

Thus I think it is evident that God himself did appear in human shape to Abraham, and that more than once. The next chapter is as plain, that he did the same to Lot, or if it should be objected that it is not so clear that it was God himself, it was two angels ; though interpreters do generally agree that it was Christ himself, who is called an angel, the angel of the covenant. But if that were doubtful, then it will still be allowed that it was an apparition of angels in human shape, which will stand good in my next article.

But as I am upon the highest and supreme instances first, I must finish it by two particular quotations, which cannot be disputed. 1. One is of Jacob, Gen. xxxii. 24. *There wrestled a man with him :* and ver. 28. the man is said to be God himself, *As a prince hast thou power with God, and hast prevailed :* and ver. 30. after he had blessed him, Jacob called the place Peniel, that is, the face of God ; *For,* says he, *I have seen God face to face.* Again Jacob says, Gen. xlviii. 3. *God Almighty appeared to me at Luz in the land of Canaan, and blessed me.*

2. But there is yet a stronger testimony than all this, for it is spoken from the mouth of God himself upon a very particular occasion, which was to honour Moses, and establish him in the reverence and regard of the people, when the seventy men or elders were appointed to take part of his work off his hands, and judge of smaller matters among the peo-

ple; which is nobly expressed, Numb. xi. 17. *They shall bear the burden of the people with thee.* In the next chapter, Miriam, and even Aaron himself, spake against Moses; that is, in short, rose in rebellion; and God, to honour his servant, tells them how he had and would distinguish Moses from all the rest; ver. 8. *With him will I speak mouth to mouth, even apparently, and not in dark speeches, and the similitude of the Lord shall he behold.*

Here is a positive declaration from heaven, that God would appear visibly to Moses; the like instance is not to be seen in the whole Bible. The word ‘apparently’ is plain, it can be no otherwise understood, without gross equivocating with the text.

Come we next to the times of our blessed Saviour, and there we have two eminent appearances within the compass of our present argument.

1. The Holy Ghost appearing in the shape of a dove.

2. The appearance of Jesus Christ after his resurrection, when in the glorified body wherewith he ascended; and that this was an apparition, is plain from the several circumstances of his appearance.

First, When he joined the two disciples going to Emmaus: that he appeared as a man, the text is plain, from his walking with them, and discourse to them; and that it was but an apparition is also plain. Luke xxiv. 16. *Their eyes were holden that they should not know him:* and ver. 31. when their eyes were opened to know him he vanished out of their sight.

Secondly, When he appeared to Mary Magdalen at the sepulchre, but forbade her to touch him, John xx. 17; and again ver. 19. when he came into the room where the disciples were assembled, and when the doors were shut, and said, *Peace be unto*

you. Thus it is evident Christ has appeared, and he has told us he shall appear again, coming in the clouds of heaven; and we look for that blessed hope, and glorious appearing.

Thus then you have God himself, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, appearing in distinct times, in several shapes or forms of appearance, all giving testimony in general to the reality of this truth, that spirits can assume human or other shapes, and be made visible to mankind; and this is what we call apparition.

Having thus brought an instance of the most exalted kind, even the appearance or apparition of God himself, it is needful to state a little the difference between those appearances, and that which we are now to discourse of.

It is an objection natural to the case in hand, we do not question, much less inquire, whether infinite Power, to whom all things are not possible only, but easy, can assume a human shape, or any other; and appear, when, where, how, and in what form he thinks fit; and that he has, or may have so appeared. But there is a manifest difference between what God is able, or may please to do upon extraordinary occasions, and what any of his creatures may or can do.

Besides, it is evident, or at least we have reason to believe, that God himself did appear in those times upon those extraordinary occasions only, and that he has never appeared since; except that should be called an appearance or apparition which spoke to St. Paul at his conversion, when it is expressly said, he saw a light and heard a voice, but saw no man; though afterwards he calls it seeing him, 1 Cor. xv. 8. *Last of all he was seen of me also.* Whereas St. Paul, we all know, did speak there of seeing Christ in the flesh, while he was on

earth. But I say, except this, we have no example of any appearance of the divine Majesty in human shape, or in any other manner whatsoever.

That therefore we must distinguish this from the subject we are now entering upon, for that the appearances of God are extremely different from the apparitions of creatures, whether angels, devils, or souls of men. That the question is not, whether God can do this or that; but whether the spirits, spirits inferior, can do it: and, which is yet more to our purpose, suppose it has been so formerly, and in ancient times, whether they do continue to do so still, or have power to do it, let the occasion be what it will.

Thus the inquiry is reduced to a narrower compass. I take upon me the affirmative; and we are now to look back into time for the confirmation or proof of it, and by inquiring what has been, inform ourselves of what may be, is, or is to be expected, as occasion may require.

And first, to describe the thing, and explain what is generally understood by the apparition of spirit; that I may not hold you in suspense, or criticise upon the bare words 'spirit' and 'apparition,' I come plainly to the meaning, as I am to be understood in this work: by apparition of spirits then, I mean, when the invisible inhabitants of the unknown world, be they who they will, assume human shapes, or other shapes, and show themselves visibly to us, so as that we can see them, speak to them, hear them speak, and the like.

This is what our people vulgarly call walking; and when any such thing appears, they know not what otherwise to call it, they say, something walks; and if it be the appearance of any known person lately dead, they say, such a one walks.

Thus I lay everything down with the utmost plainness, that I may leave the reader in no uncer-

tainty about my meaning in the subject I am upon, or give room for cavilings or disputings, at either the thing itself, or the manner of expressing it,

We speak in vain
Of truth itself, unless we speak it plain.
Words wrapt in clouds, till their full meaning's known,
Such words are not the hearer's, but our own.
The end of speaking's lost —————
For speech was given to be understood.

Asking pardon for giving this loose to my thoughts, I return to the subject, lest I should be but an apparition myself.

The apparitions I am to speak of are these.

1. The appearance of angels.
2. Of devils.
3. Of the departed souls of men.

These are those, whom we mean by the inhabitants of the invisible world, or worlds; the world of spirits, and the superior beings, who are said to converse with the spirits embodied, by vision or apparition, or any other superior way.

By apparition also I am to understand such appearances of these superior beings, as are spontaneous and voluntary, or at least so far as relates to us; that is to say, I distinguish between those apparitions which appear of their own accord, or by superior mission and authority, and those which that dark race of people among us, who would be called magicians, talk of; spirits, or things called spirits, which are raised, as we foolishly call it, by the arts of men; by witchcraft, sorcery, magic, and such other infernal arts, as are, or have been made use of for that purpose; and by which they tell us spirits are called down from the superior regions (or wherever their abode has been) to show themselves visibly, speak to, and converse with mankind, answer questions, foretell events, and the like; as Samuel is said to be brought to appear to Saul,

1 Sam. xxviii. 14. How far these magicians, witches, and other dealers in these dark things, have or have not power to cause such appearances, and to form apparitions; and how far they impose upon, and delude the world in it, that I may speak of it by itself, and indeed it well deserves consideration. But for the present, I say, I am talking of another kind of apparitions.

CHAP. II.

Of the appearance of angels immediately in mission as from heaven ; and why we are to suppose those kinds of apparitions are at an end.

THAT angels have appeared to men, we have abundant testimony in the histories of times past, as well sacred as profane ; nor shall I spend one moment of your time to examine or confirm it, except as it comes necessarily in by the occasion of other discourse : for it is not the appearance of angels as such, but the appearance of angels in the shape of men, that is the present inquiry.

That this has been, is evident, and in general the Scripture gives this testimony to it : when the apostle advises to hospitality, and to entertain strangers, he adds, *For thereby some have entertained angels unawares ;* Heb. xiii. 2. This must be meant of angels in human shape, otherwise the hospitable person could not be mistaken in such a manner : besides, it plainly refers to Abraham, Gen. xviii. 1. sitting in the door of his tent, ver. 2. three men stood by him ; two of these were certainly angels ; who the third was, I have shown already. It may likewise include Lot, in whose story, Gen. xix. it is expressed, ver. 1. that they were two angels, and ver. 8. Lot calls them *these men*, and ver. 10, 12, 16. they are called *the men* ; so that Lot believed them to be men only, and as such he not only invited them unto his house, ver. 2. but he made them a feast, and they did eat, ver. 3.

These apparitions of angels, in the shape of men,

are undeniable on other occasions ; but when they appear as angels, it is said so plainly, and in so many words ; as in the case of Abraham, when he was going to offer his son Isaac, Gen. xxii. 11 : *The angel of the Lord called to Abraham out of heaven ;* and again ver. 15 : *The angel of the Lord called the second time.*

There are innumerable examples of angels appearing as angels ; but we are upon the appearance of angels as men, and in the shape and habit of men. The next instance is, of an angel appearing to Joshua, and who is called the captain of the Lord's host, Josh. v. 13 : *Joshua looked, and, behold, there stood a man over against him, with a sword drawn in his hand.* Immediately Joshua, soldier-like, gives him the *qui vive*, or in English, who are you for ? art thou for us, or for our adversaries ? and the spectre or apparition spoke immediately again, ver. 14. and then Joshua perceived that it was not a man, but an angel in apparition ; and in the heads or contents of the chapter, it is expressly said, An angel appears to Joshua.

Another example is, of the angel that appeared to Manoah the father of Sampson ; his wife indeed, calls him a man of God, and that he appeared to her ; but says, that his countenance was like an angel of God, very terrible ; Judges xiii. 6. But still, when he appeared a second time, it was in the shape of a man, or else why did Manoah desire him to stay till he could dress a kid for him ? and the words are express, ver. 16 : *He knew not that it was an angel of the Lord.*

There are other examples in Scripture, where the angels have appeared in human shape, and conversed with men upon earth, besides such as have appeared in their real angelic form as angels. How and in what they were known to be angels, in what form they have been seen, and in what voice they

spoke, is not discovered to us in the Scripture. Some are of opinion, that even those angels appeared in the shape of men, and clothed as men; as the angel that met Balaam with a flaming sword in his hand; the angels which Jacob saw ascending and descending on the ladder; the angels that spoke to Zacharias in the temple, to the Virgin Mary in the chamber, and that sat in the sepulchre after Christ was risen, and asked the disciples, *why seek ye the living among the dead?* and so in several cases: All that can be answered is, that the text called them angels, and so far we are not to doubt it; but I must also allow, that they seem to me to have been in the figure of men; as for those in the sepulchre, St. Luke says expressly, *they saw two men in shining garments*, Luke xxiv. 4. and in the same chapter, ver. 23. it is said they had seen a vision of angels.

Thus far it relates to good angels, such as have been seen on earth in apparition, but have made such an appearance by virtue of the superior mission, as the angel Gabriel, who tells Zacharias, *I am sent to speak unto thee.*

That these have upon many occasions been seen in human shape is evident; and though much more time might be spent upon the proof, I think it is needless; indeed the evidence is sufficient.

There is a question still remaining, relating to this part, viz., How comes it to pass that all this is ceased, and that the angels have done coming, or are no more sent of such errands? but that all the angels we have any account of in these days, are of a worse kind, and generally come upon worse errands? and which particular observation is the very reason of our doubts, whether the appearance of the other is real or not.

This question might be answered many ways, but it is too grave for the times; and as we are not writing divinity, I shall not load you with serious

points: the short account of it is this: We have now a more sure word of prophecy; that is, that since the preaching of the Gospel, and the revelation of God by a written word, there is no more need of what the text calls a ministration of angels. The Scripture is a daily revelation, and the Spirit of God, who is promised to lead us, is a daily inspiration, there is no more need of vision and apparition; and this is that glorious difference between the revelations of those days, and these of ours, and the reason of the difference between the apparitions of these times and of those.

When I am speaking things serious, I am to speak very short, that I may not shock your reading; the taste of the times happening at this juncture to lie another way: but my next article perhaps may make you amends, I mean the appearance of the grand archangel of all, and, as I suppose, the only archangel out of heaven, namely, the Devil.

CHAP. III.

Of the appearance of the Devil in human shape.

PRAY observe, when I am speaking of the appearance of the Devil, it is not to tell you that he can and does appear among us at this time; so you need not look over your shoulders to see for him, or at the candles, to see if they burn blue, at least not yet; it is time enough for that by and by.

But I am examining now the matter of fact only, as, 1. Whether the Devil can appear here, yea or no; whether he is allowed to come, that his chain reaches so far, and that his tether is long enough? also, 2. Whether he is ever sent or directed to come, or that he comes of his own accord, and about his own business? And as all these will lead me to inquire what has been, from whence we may best judge what is, or may be.

That he has upon special occasions appeared in former times is certain, as well from Scripture as ancient history, and a small retrospect will satisfy you in that point. If it appears that he has been here, then it is very probable his chain is long enough, and that he is allowed the liberty to come so far from home. For we have no authority to say, or to believe, that his tether is shortened, or that he is more restrained now than ever he was before.

His entering the garden of God in the beginning of time, and the havoc he made there, the turning Adam and Eve out, and even turning the whole frame of nature upside down by his vile doings there; all this I have mentioned: but we have

more yet to say of him ; for he is still in being, and still the same malicious Devil, the same destroyer and accuser, that ever he was ; the flame of fire set to guard the garden, did not burn him ; the deluge did not drown him ; nor has justice thought fit yet to take him into its iron hands, though it will certainly do it at last ; and, as the Scripture says in another case, his damnation slumbereth not ; for justice is truly represented,

With leaden feet and iron hands, to show,
It will be certain, though it may be slow.

The first time we meet with the Devil's personal appearance upon earth, I mean after the flood, is in the story of Job ; nor by all the calculations of times, which the learned chronologers of those days have made, could that be long after it ; for Eliphaz the Temanite could not be further off than the grandson of Esau, or thereabouts ; Gen. xxxvi. 11.

In Job's time, the text says that *the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them*. So that it seems the angel of light was dressed up like the sons of God, even in those ancient days ; and it is not likely that this was the first time neither : again, it seems by the text, that though God himself might know Satan in that disguise, yet the people, among whom he came, did not know him.

The answer likewise which he makes to the question, implies strongly, that Satan had been wont to walk among those sons of God in disguise long before that ; for when God says to him, *Whence comest thou ?* his answer seems to be a kind of general, I come from following my known business, my old trade ; dost thou know I am a roaring lion, and dost thou ask me whence I come ? Why, I come from seeking who I may devour, ranging the world, going to and fro in the earth, and walking up

and down in this disguise, as thou now seest me, that I may do all the mischief I can.

God's return again to Satan confirms it, as if the Lord had said, Well, Satan, then thou must have seen my servant Job? *Hast thou considered him, that there is none like him in the earth?*

The Devil makes an answer that implies he knew Job very well. Do I know him to be a good man! yes: but then I know him to be a rich man too: it is an easy thing for a man to be honest, that is so rich; he can have no room for asking more: what should he steal for, or be a knave for, that is the richest man in the world? what should he covet, that has no room for desire? But if thou hast a mind to try his honesty, and his piety, his fear of thee, and his hatred of evil, blast his wealth, and take his prodigious flocks and herds of cattle away; level him, bring him to be like other men in riches, and reduce him to beggary, and then see if he won't be like other men in crime; nay, he'll be raging and furious, and curse thee to thy face.

This, though it may seem remote, is to my purpose thus: it shows that the Devil was no stranger among the people. He had walked up and down in disguise, so as to know them all, and their circumstances; he had been dressed up like one of the rest, in human shape, so that he could not be known from the very best of men, no, not from the sons of God.

Some are of opinion, by the sons of God there, is meant the patriarchal heads of families, who had, in right of primogeniture, the priesthood in course, and were the only sacrificers at that time, as Abraham and as Job were; so that in short, Satan has long ago dressed himself in the habit of the clergy. Bless us all! we hope he does not do so still; for if the Devil should put on the gown and cassock, or the black cloak, or the coat and the cord, and be

walking about the world in that disguise now, how easily may we be cheated, and mistake the sons of God for the prince of darkness! and how could we tell one from t'other? But of that hereafter.

CHAP. IV.

Of the apparition of spirits unembodied, and which never were embodied; not such as are vulgarly called ghosts, that is to say, departed souls returning again and appearing visibly on earth, but spirits of a superior and angelic nature; with an opinion of another species.

THERE appears a question here in the very beginning of the debate, which will be very hard to decide, and perhaps impossible: however, that we may not stumble at the threshold, I will touch it as gently, and yet as clearly, as I can. The question is this; whether are there any spirits inhabiting the visible world, which have never yet been embodied, and yet are not to be reckoned of the species of angels good or bad?

By angels good and bad, I suppose I may be easily understood to mean what you all think you mean when you sort or rank them into only two kinds, viz., angels or devils; in which vulgar and general, not to say foolish way of expressing it, I humbly conceive the self-wise world much mistaken. It is true it is a speculation, and every one is at liberty to think for themselves, and, among them, so am I; in which, though I have a better opinion of my own judgment than always to sacrifice it to vulgar notions, and that too at the price of my reason; yet I have withal so little pride, and so mean an opinion of my own thoughts, that I shall not venture to advance anything in a case so exceedingly liable to cavil and exception.

Two places in Scripture speak of angels in a dif-

ferent style from the ordinary and usual way of understanding the word. Matt. xviii. 10. speaking of little children, Christ says, that *in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven*: the other is Acts xii. 15. when Peter knocked at the door where the disciples were gathered together, and they believing him to be in chains, and in the prison, said, *It is his angel*.

The learned expositors and annotators extremely differ upon the meaning of these texts, and it is not my business here to reconcile them. Some will have it to mean nothing but a kind of an exclamation or admiration; What can it be! It is an angel! and of the first, about children, they say it only intimates that their souls, when glorified, shall always, if they go away in peace, *behold the face of God in heaven*.

Others run out to an imaginary scheme of guardian angels attending every man and woman while they are upon earth; a notion so uncertain, if granted, and that has so many difficulties to reconcile, before it can be believed, that it is much better to leave it where it is, and which I shall explain presently a much easier way.

Now, I say, it is not my present business to reconcile these distant and clashing opinions, at least not in this work. I have started a question; possibly my opinion is with the affirmative, at least I think it possible, and that it is rational to believe it; perhaps I may name you as improbable a notion, and much more inconsistent with the Christian religion, which yet philosophy bids us call rational, and directs us to believe.

How are we put to it to form inhabitants for the planetary worlds: philosophy says they are habitable bodies, solid, opaque, as this earth, and we will have them be inhabited also, whether it be with or without, for or against our reason and understanding;

it is no satisfaction to them, or will it stop their cavils, to say it is not fact ; that they are not habitable ; that both Saturn and Jupiter are uncomfortably dark, unsufferably cold, would congeal the very soul (if that were possible) and so are not habitable on that account ; that Mercury and Venus are insufferably hot, that the very water would always boil, the fire burn up the vitals ; and that, in short, no human creatures could subsist in such heat ; but this is not satisfactory neither ; but rather than not have all those opaque worlds be inhabited, and even their satellites or moons about them too, they will have God be obliged to create a species of bodies suitable to their several climates.

In Saturn they are to live without eyes, or be a kind so illuminated from their own internal heat and light, that they can see sufficiently by their own beams.

In Jupiter there must be another kind, that can live in twilight, and by the reflection of its own moons, and subsist in continued frost.

In Mercury the species must be all salamanders, and live in the continued fire of the sun's beams, more intense than what would be sufficient to burn all our houses, and melt our copper, lead, and iron, in the very mines ; so the inhabitants must be of a kind better able to bear the fire than those metals, and would still live though they were continually calcining, if not vitrifying into glass.

In Venus the heat would boil the water, and consequently the blood in the body, and a set of human bodies must be formed that could live always in a hot bath, and neither sweat out their souls, or melt their bodies.

In Mars, so very dry in its nature, no vegetables or sensitives could subsist that we have any notion of, for want of moisture ; and the man that lived

there must be dried up sufficiently for pulverising on any suitable occasion, I mean human beings, and of our species.

Now if God must not be supposed to have created so many habitable bodies without peopling them, and that it would reflect upon his wisdom to lay so much of his creation waste; that all the planets should seem to be made for nothing but to range about the waste as a kind of dark inhabitants; of no use but to shine a little, and that with but borrowed beams too, upon this little point called earth, where, only, a set of rationals can exist; I say, if this must not be supposed, but on the contrary there are certainly people of one kind or another in all those bodies, let the trouble of making them be what it will; if this be the case, and that this must be believed in spite of so many difficulties and inconsistencies, then allow me to argue a little upon the following inquiry:

Why may I not as well suggest, and that with every jot as much probability, that there are, or at least may be, a certain number of appointed inhabitants, in the vastly-extended abyss of space, a kind of spirits (other than the angels good or bad, and other than the unembodied or uncased souls of men) who dwell in the invisible world, and in the vast nowhere of unbounded space, of which we can neither say what it is, what it contains, or how determined? that great waste, of whose extent it is hardly possible even the soul itself can conceive, and of which all the accounts we give, and guesses we make, are so remote, look so enthusiastic, so improbable, and so like impossible, that instead of informing the ignorant part of the world by it, we only arm them with jest and ridicule, and resolve them into incurable unbelief; depending that what it is not possible to conceive of, is not possible to be.

Now is this immense space indeed a void? is it all a waste? is it utterly desolate? or is it inhabited

and peopled by the omnipotent Maker, in a manner suited to his own glory, and with such inhabitants as are spirituous, invisible, and therefore perfectly proper to the place?

I must needs say, it is much more rational to suggest this to be, than to bring out a species of human bodies to live in the intense heat of Mercury, or the acute cold of Jupiter and Saturn. The latter is agreeable to the general understanding we all have of spirituous beings: we are well assured there are some always there, and that they can very well subsist there; that the place is suitable to them, and that there are spirits of some kind or other; and why not such as we suggest?

It remains then only to examine what communication these spirits have with us, whether they are or are not able to hold conversation with us, and whether they really do converse familiarly with us, yea or no?

If it should be granted that there are such spirits in being, and that they pass and repass, exist, and have egress and regress there; that they inhabit, as a certain bombastic author has it,

Through all the liquid mazes of the sky ;

I say, if this should be granted, then it remains that here is a fourth species that may assume shapes; for spirits may do that, and may appear among us, may converse with our embodied spirits, and from those we may receive abundance of additional intelligence from the world of spirits, whether by dream, vision, appearance, or any superior way, such as to them in their great knowledge of things shall seem meet. To speak as distinctly of this nice part as I can, admit me to explain myself a little.

If we grant that spirit, though invisible in

itself, may assume shape, may vest itself so with flesh and blood, that is seemingly, so as to form an appearance, then all spirit may do it; since we have no rule given us by which we may distinguish spirits one from another, I mean as to their actings in the capacity of spirits: we may indeed, as I have said already, distinguish them by the effect, that is to say, by the errand they come on, and by the manner of their operations, as whether they are good or evil spirits; but not by their nature as spirit. The Devil is as really a spirit, though a degenerated, fallen, and evil spirit, I say, he is as much a spirit to all the intents and purposes of a spirit that we are capable to judge of, as an angel; and he is called the evil spirit; he has invisibility and multipresence, as a spirit has; he can appear though the doors be shut; and go out, though bolted and barred in; no prison can hold him, but his last eternal dungeon; no chain can bind him, but the chains fastened on him by Heaven, and the angel of the bottomless pit; no engine or human art can wound him; in short, he is neither to be seen, felt, heard, or understood, unless he pleases; and he can make himself be both seen and heard too if he pleases; for he can assume the shape and appearance of man or beast, and in these shapes and appearances can make himself visible to us, terrify and affright us, converse in a friendly or in a frightful manner with us, as he thinks fit; he can be a companion and fellow-traveller in the day, an apparition and a horrible monster in the night: in a word, he can be among us, and act upon, and with us, visibly or invisibly, as he pleases, and as he finds for his purpose.

Now if he does, and can do thus, merely as he is a spirit, and by his spiritual nature, we have a great deal of reason to believe that all spirit may

do the same ; or at least, I may ask, Why may not all spirit do the same ? and if there are any kinds of spirit, as is not improbable, besides those we have hitherto conceived of, they may be reasonably supposed to be vested with the same powers, and may exert those powers in the same or a like manner.

If any man asks me how I make out the probability of these differing species of spirits, I answer as above, by this, that it appears there are invisible operations and a secret converse carried on among men from the world of spirits, wherever that is, which cannot, at least to our understandings, be supposed to be the work either of those particular or proper angels which reside in heaven, or the infernal angels either ; that these spirits, or if you please to call them, angels, appear and converse for good, and therefore may not be supposed to be the Devil or from the Devil. It is said, indeed, that they act by a visible kind of restraint, in doing good with a sort of an imperfection and manifest debility ; so as sometimes to act, as it were, to no purpose, being not able to make the good they aim at effectual, and therefore cannot be from heaven, the fountain of good ; who, as he is good, so he is infinitely able to do all the good that he appears willing to do : but this, I think, confirms rather than confutes my opinion ; for, it proves them to be sent, and under particular commission ; it only suggests that it is probable there are spirits who may be more confined and restrained in their power of acting, some than others, and this is not at all inconsistent with the nature of the thing.

The great, and perhaps the strongest argument which our learned men produce for the credit of their new philosophy is, that by this they can the better solve the difficulties of several other pheno-

mena, which before were hardly intelligible, or at least which they could not account for any other way.

In like manner, though the certainty of my suggestion cannot be arrived to, or supposing it cannot, and that at best it is but a speculation, scarcely can be called an hypothesis, and that no evidence can be given for it, yet this must be said of it, that by this notion we may solve several other difficulties which we cannot understand any other way: such as,

First, How it is, and from whence, or by whose agency we frequently receive such kind notions of good or evil as it is certain we do, and yet without receiving any further assistance, which, perhaps, it is not in the power of the kind informer to give us, either for the avoiding or embracing the evil or the good which they give us notice of?

What can it be that communicates these approaching distant things, and which it is so much our interest and concern to know? If it were an evil spirit, I mean a devil, as I have said above, he would never concern himself so much for our benefit, seeing he is known to will our ruin to the utmost of his endeavour, and to wish us to fall into all possible mischief and disaster.

On the other hand, it cannot be from heaven or from the angels; for the works of God are all, like himself, perfect, and he would not so far dishonour his messengers, as to allow them, nay, to send them (for they could never come unsent) to give us notice of evil, and yet take it out of our power to avoid it; or to foretell good things at hand, and then give us no power to embrace them, or to lay hold of them; and it would neither consist with the infinite goodness, or with the infinite justice, to do thus by his creatures.

Besides, it is a kind of incongruous acting, un-

worthy of the supreme power, unworthy an angel's appearing; it rather shows that it is the product of some intelligent being, who, though it means good, and has a beneficent nature that would contribute to our safety and prosperity if it could, yet is under some limitations of its actings, is not able to proceed in the good it has attempted, that can just do us so much service as to give us notice of what may await us behind the dark curtain of futurity; but has no power to go any further, or to give any assistance to us in pursuing proper methods for our deliverance; no, not so much as to give directions, much less powers to act; as a child discovering a fire begun in a house, may cry out and alarm the family, but is able to do no more, no, not so much as to tell them whereabouts it is, or which way they shall go about to escape from it, much less to quench or prevent it.

These imperfect notices, I say, seem to proceed from some good and kind being, which is near us, existing, though out of our knowledge, yet not so remote but that it is in a condition to see and know things good or evil, which, though approaching, is yet out of our view, and which, if we could take the silent hint, it might be infinitely for our advantage; but is able to do no more.

Now, if such notices, whether to the mind by dreams when asleep, or by waking impulse, or by voice, or apparition; if they were from heaven, they would never be so imperfect and unassisting; we cannot suppose Heaven would concern itself to give us notices of danger impending, of enemies lying in wait, of mischiefs approaching, and would then leave us to fall into the snare by an unavoidable necessity.

As to what these spirits therefore are, where they reside, what circumstances they are in, and how they have access to our understandings, I ac-

knowledge the difficulty to be great, and do not pretend to enter upon it here; that they may sometimes appear is not improbable: but I hope I may say, that all apparitions are not the Devil, nor yet may they be angels immediately from heaven, for many reasons.

First, From the meanness of the occasions, I mean of some of the occasions, on which these things happen. That there are angels sent from heaven on particular messages and errands, to fulfil the mind and will of their Maker and sovereign, all men must grant; I have already proved it, and abundance of examples may be given of it, besides those already named; but we never find those angels coming upon trifling errands, and for things of mean import. The angel of the Lord appeared to Gideon at the threshing-floor, to summon him to the deliverance of the whole nation of Israel: the angel of the Lord appeared to David with his drawn sword, threatening destruction to Jerusalem: the angels appeared to the shepherds to signify the birth of Christ; as an angel had done to the virgin, to salute her, and tell her what great a work was to be wrought in her: angels appeared to minister to Christ, after his temptation in the wilderness; and an angel appeared strengthening him in his agony, and angels have appeared on many other such eminent occasions; but not except such occasions were eminent, and that particularly so.

But here you have an old woman dead, one that, it may be, has hid a little money in the orchard or garden; and an apparition, is supposed, comes and discovers it, by leading the person it appears to, to the place, and making some signal that he should dig there for somewhat; or a man is dead, and having left a legacy to such and such, the executor does not pay it, and an apparition comes and haunts this executor till he does justice. Is it likely an

angel should be sent from heaven to find out the old woman's earthen dish with thirty or forty shillings in it? or an angel should be sent to harass this man for a legacy of perhaps five or ten pounds? and as to the Devil, will any one charge Satan with being solicitous to have justice done? they that know him at all, must know him better than to think so hardly of him.

Who then must it be? and from whence? To say it is the soul or ghost of the departed person, and that he could not be at rest till the injured person be righted, is advanced upon no principle that is agreeable to the Christian doctrine at all; for if the soul is happy, is it reasonable to believe that the felicity of heaven can be interrupted by so trivial a matter, and on so slight an occasion? if the soul be unhappy, remember the great gulf fixed; there is no room for us to believe that those miserable souls have any leisure or liberty to come back upon earth on an errand of such a nature.

In a word, there is nothing but difficulty in it on every side: apparitions there are, we see no room to doubt the reality of that part; but what, who, or from whence, is a difficulty which I see no way to extricate ourselves from, but by granting that there may be an appointed, deputed sort of stationary spirits in the invisible world, who come upon these occasions, and appear among us; which inhabitants or spirits, (you may call them angels if you please,) bodies they are not, and cannot be, neither had they been ever embodied; but such as they are, they have a power of conversing among us, and particularly with spirits embodied, and can by dreams, impulses, and strong aversions, move our thoughts, and give hope, raise doubts, sink our souls to-day, elevate them to-morrow, and many ways operate upon our passions and affections; may give intimations of good or evil; but cannot,

through some unknown restraint upon their power, go any further, speak any plainer, or give the least assistance to us, no, not by counsel or direction to guide us or tell us how to act for our own preservation.

I am told that these may be good angels for all that, and that it is no just way of arguing, to say such things are too trifling to send an angel from heaven upon so mean an errand, and upon so inconsiderable an affair; since we see Providence daily giving testimony, not of its government only, but of its care and concern, in and about the meanest affairs of life: and that the Scripture itself frequently gives examples of it, in his feeding the ravens, taking care of the sparrows, clothing the grass of the field, numbering the hairs of our head, &c.; so that infinite is not limited or tied up, to or from any degree of acting: nor is there anything great, or anything small; but as God is seen in his least creatures, insects, mites, and the like, so he is active in the most trifling event: nor does that Providence, who yet protects us in, and delivers us from danger, always act alike; but as the sovereignty of his actings is not to be disputed, so neither is his wisdom impeached by suffering evil to fall upon man, which the least hint from his light might have guided him to prevent.

I think this is the utmost that can be said in the case, and yet it does not reach us at all; for this is not the meaning of my objection, no, nor is it the substance of it; I am not speaking of Providence concerning itself in the care of its creatures, I acknowledge all that; but then this Providence acts in its own way, and by its own invisible operations; nor is there any occasion for the agency of such extraordinary instruments, and therefore it may be that angels are never sent as expresses upon such things.

The king or government of a nation may influence the whole body of the people, at whatever distance, by the power of his laws, directing the magistrates, and the inferior officers, to act in the name of the supreme ; and this is done without any step out of the ordinary way of the administration. But if any extraordinary occasion require, then a messenger is despatched with particular instructions, and special power, as the particular case may require.

So providence (which is, in a word, the administration of heaven's government in the world) acts in its ordinary course, and in the usual way, with an universal influence upon all things, and nothing is below its concern : but when extraordinary things present, then the particular express messengers from heaven, viz. the angels, are sent with instructions on that particular affair which they are despatched about, and no other. And I may venture to say, these are never sent upon trifles, never sent but on extraordinary occasions, and to execute some special commission ; and this comes directly to the case in hand.

In the next place I demand, when could it be said, or what example can be given, where an angel from heaven has been sent to give any particular person notice of approaching dangers, and at the same time left the mind unalarmed, and in a state of indolence, not capable of rousing itself up to shun and avoid the danger threatened, or without direction and assistance to prevent or escape it ; this is what I allege is unworthy of the divine wisdom and goodness.

Look into all the messages or notices that have been given from heaven on such occasions, in all the histories of the Scripture, or almost elsewhere, and you will see the difference evidently. Take a few for example.

Two angels are sent to Sodom, not only to destroy the city for its wickedness, but to save Lot. Well, they come to him, they tell him what they are about to do, and that they are sent to do it: namely, to burn the city. This might have been enough; and perhaps, had it been noticed to him by the spirits I am speaking of, this had been all; and if Lot had not taken their kind information, it had been his own fault; nay, as it was, the text says, Lot lingered, and 'tis plain he left the city with a kind of reluctance.

But the kind messengers do not satisfy themselves with giving him the warning, but they rouse up his indolence. See Gen. xix. 12. *Hast thou any here?* any that thou hast a respect for, or interest in, bring them out of this place; ver. 13. *We will destroy this place.* There's a hint of the danger approaching, and which is a wise direction what to do, but this does not satisfy: the man is not barely cautioned, and directed, but he is to be saved; and therefore the beneficent hand is not content to alarm and counsel him, but ver. 15. *When the morning arose they hastened Lot;* they stirred up his unconcerned temper, *Arise, lest thou be consumed in the iniquity of the city;* and even this being not enough, for Lot lingered still, and, as I said, seemed loath to leave the place, they as it were dragged him out; ver. 16. *they laid hold of his hand, and upon the hand of his wife, and upon the hand of his two daughters, and brought him forth, and set him without the city:* and what is the reason of all this? the words are express, *the Lord being merciful to him.*

The rest of the story is well known: when they had brought him forth, they let him know he would not be safe even there; but adds, *Escape for thy life, look not behind thee:* nay, he tells him whither he should go, ver. 17. *Escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed.* Here was a message like a work

of heaven ; here was the warning of danger, and directions to take proper measures for deliverance, and those measures pointed out even to the very place where he should be safe.

Take another place exactly like this, Matt. ii. 13. An angel is sent to Joseph in a dream, to warn him of the danger attending the holy infant, then in the virgin mother's arms : the words are express ; *Herod will seek the young child to destroy him* : does the blessed notice leave Joseph to sleep on, to say, 'Tis nothing but a dream ? I don't see any danger, I believe there's nothing in it ; as is our language often on such occasions ? No, no ; this message was from Heaven, who never gives such notice of evil, and then leaves us unalarmed, undirected, supine and easy, till it falls upon us without remedy ; the angel adds presently, *Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and flee into Egypt, and be thou there till I bring thee word.*

Thus you see the nature of the divine proceedings, the effectual manner of notices from heaven ; the danger is told, and then the way to avoid it ; and always with a hasting alarm, *Up, get thee out of the city ; Arise, flee into Egypt ;* and the like.

Another is in the story of Peter in the prison : an angel is sent to deliver him, Acts xii. and what does the angel do ? a light shined in the prison, and he smote him on the side ; this was to awaken and alarm him ; this and a light to show him the way, was sufficient to have put him upon trying to escape. But the angel did not come so far to do his work by halves, but having awaked him he goes on with his work, and to perfect his deliverance ; *Arise quickly Peter*, and raised him up, and then made the chains fall off from his hands.

Nor yet had he done ; *Gird thyself*, says the angel, *and bind on thy sandals ;* or as we would say, put on your shoes : still Peter was at a loss what to do ;

then the angel adds, *Cast thy garment about thee, and follow me.* Then he leads him through all the wards, and opens the iron gate for him, and never left him till he had brought him out into the street, nay, through one street, that the keepers should not know which way to pursue him.

This was an appearance or apparition to the purpose; and such have been all those transactions of heaven, which have been under the hands of express messengers. You see all these three were done by angels sent on purpose; Peter expresses it in so many words, Acts xii. 11. *Now I know of a surety, that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me.*

Now let us see how it has fared with those who have received notices of approaching danger from the invisible world, by the hands of other messengers.

Julius Cæsar had several hints given him of his approaching fate; one particular soothsayer pointed out the very day to him, namely, the ides of March, but he had no power to avoid his fate. The kind spirit that foreboded, and gave hints to him that he was in danger, as if contented with having done his part, left him to be murdered. No assistance given him to rouse up his spirits to take the alarm: he is not led by the hand, and told, Go not into the senate-house, as was done for Lot, *Escape for thy life.* The kind monitor does not name the traitors and assassins to him, and say, Brutus, and Cassius, Casca, and others, wait there to kill you; as the angel to Joseph, *Herod will seek the young child to destroy him.*

And on the other side, Cæsar, bold and unalarmed, indolent, and having things not sufficiently explained to him, (and the good spirit, as may be supposed, able to do no more for him,) goes on, enters the senate-house, mocks the soothsayer, and tells him

the ides of March are come, who sharply returned, But they are not past. In a word, neglecting his own safety, and wanting a complete information, he goes into the senate, and is murdered.

Julian the Apostate is another example: he had a thousand ill omens, as they called them, which attended him at and before his undertaking the Persian war; such as the dying of the consul Julianus of his own name, the burning of the temple of Apollo, and several other accidents; and though he was the most superstitious of all the heathen emperors that were before him, and sent to all the oracles, to all the augurs and soothsayers he could hear of, insomuch that the citizens of Antioch made a jest of him for it; yet he was so blinded by his flatterers, or deluded by the priests, who construed the worst and most portentous things to mean the best events; or, which is beyond all, by the superior decree of an appointed vengeance; that he went on and was killed in the very beginning of the war; the first battle with the Persians carried him off.

I might multiply examples of the like kind, even on both sides, and especially on the last; but it is sufficient; our own experience will confirm it: secret notices are daily given us of capital dangers attending, and yet how do the most vigilant observers of those signals, and the most eminent omen-hunters, even after those notices, sit still, and grow indolent? or else, amazed and bewildered, they say, I know there is something a coming to me, some mischief attends me, I have plain notice of it; but I don't know what it is, I can't tell what to do; I can do nothing to avoid or prevent it. And thus they fall into the pit, as we may say, with their eyes open, and in spite of the kind spirit's beneficent warning.

What can this be? but because the spirit, though really kind and beneficent, yet limited and impotent

in power, was able to do no more than to give the hint, leaving the person to his own prudence to guard and direct himself?

I might add here what is rational enough to suggest, viz., that Heaven in its infinite wisdom and goodness may have appointed these good spirits to give such notices, yet allowing them to do no more, that the mind of man being duly alarmed at approaching evil, and believing something very fatal to him is at hand, but seeing no kind being directing what methods to take for his deliverance, or for escaping the impending mischief, should turn his eyes (at least) a little upwards, and call for direction and counsel from that hand, who alone can both direct and deliver.

But hold! whither am I going? This looks like religion, and we must not talk a word of that, if we expect to be agreeable. Unhappy times! where to be serious, is to be dull and grave, and consequently to write without spirit. We must talk politely, not religiously; we may show the scholar, but must not show a word of the Christian; so we may quote profane history, but not sacred; and a story out of Lucan, or Plutarch, Tully, or Virgil, will go down, but not a word out of Moses, or Joshua.

Well, we must comply however; the humour of the day must prevail; and as there is no instructing you, without pleasing you, and no pleasing you, but in your own way, we must go on in that way; the understanding must be refined by allegory and enigma; you must see the sun through the cloud, and relish light by the help of darkness; the taste must be rectified by salts, the appetite whetted by bitters; in a word, the manners must be reformed in masquerade, devotion quickened by the stage, not the pulpit, and wit be brightened by satires upon sense.

This hypothesis, of a new supposed class of spirits, would lead me into a great many useful speculations; and I might remark with great advantages from it, upon the general indolence which it is evident has so fatally possessed our men of wit in this age. To see a fool, a fop, believe himself inspired, a fellow that washes his hands fifty times a-day, but if he would be truly cleanly, should have his brains taken out and washed, his skull trepanned and placed with the hind-side before, that his understanding, which nature placed by mistake, with the bottom upward, may be set right, and his memory placed in a right position; to this unscrewed engine talk of spirits, and of the invisible world, and of his conversing with unembodied soul, when he has hardly brains to converse with anything but a pack of hounds, and owes it only to his being a fool, that he does not converse with the Devil! who if he has any spirit about him, it must be one of these indolent angels I speak of; and if he has not been listed among the infernals, it has not been for want of wickedness, but for want of wit.

I don't wonder such as these go a mobbing among those meanest of mad things called free-masons; rough cheats and confessed delusions are the fittest things to amuse them. They are like those foolish fish that are caught in large nets, that might get out at every square of the mesh, but hang by the gills upon the mere thread, and choose to hamper and tangle themselves, when there is no occasion for it, and are taken even in those snares that are not laid for them.

CHAP. V.

Of the appearance of departed unembodied soul.

I NOW come to the main and most disputed part of shadowy appearance, viz., the apparition of unembodied soul.

It is a material difficulty here, and ought to be considered with the utmost plainness, viz., what we mean by unembodied soul; whether we understand souls which have been encased in flesh, but being unhoused are now moving about, in what state we know not, and are to be spoken of as in their separate capacity: or whether there is any such thing as a mass of soul, as a learned but pretty much inconsistent writer calls it, which waits to be embodied, as the superior disposer of that affair (be that who or what he pleases) may direct.

This, I confess, is to me something unintelligible, looks a little Platonic, and as if it were akin to the transmigration-whimsey of the ancients; but if they would found it upon anything rational, it must be upon the suggestion mentioned above, viz., of a middle class of spirit, neither angelic-heavenly, or angelic-infernal: but spirits inhabiting the invisible spaces, and allowed to act and appear here, under express and greatly strained limitations, such as are already described, and of which much more may still be said.

But that I may clear up your doubt as to the part I am upon, I have added at the head of this section, the word departed, to intimate to you that I am orthodox in my notion; that I am none of the sect of soul-sleepers, or for imprisoning souls in a

Limbus of the ancients ; but that in a few words, by the appearance of souls unembodied, I mean such as having been embodied or imprisoned in flesh, are discharged from that confinement, or as I call it, unhoused and turned out of possession. For I cannot agree that the soul is in the body, as in a prison ; but rather that, like a rich nobleman, he is pleased to inhabit a fine country-seat or palace of his own building, where he resolves to live and enjoy himself, and does so, till by the fate of things, his fine palace being overturned, whether by an earthquake or otherwise, is buried in its own ruins, and the noble owner turned out of possession, without a house.

This soul, we are told, and I concur in the opinion, has sometimes made a tour back into this world ; whether earth, or the atmosphere of the earth, call it where you will, and express it how you will, it matters not much : whence it comes, how far the journey how, and why it came hither, and above all, how it goes back again, and what those various apparitions are which counterfeit these spirits : inquire within, and you shall know further.

That the unembodied souls of men dead, as we say, departed, have appeared, we have affirmed from the authority of the Scripture ; which I must allow to be an authentic document, whatever the reader may please to do ; till a history more authentic, and of better authority, may be produced in the room of it.

As to the appearance of Samuel, raised by the witch, I despise it, as it is offered in the capacity of a soul, much more as the unembodied soul of Samuel ; which, though it might have been caused to appear, as the sovereign of all spirits, with whom the soul of Samuel is at rest, had thought fit ; yet could no more be summoned from that rest, by the conjuration of an old witch, than the Devil could fetch it out of heaven by force. Nor was it likely that God, who

refused so much as to speak to that abandoned prince whom he had so righteously rejected, and that would answer him neither by Urim or by Thummim, that would neither hear his prayer or accept his offering, would hear a witch, a creature likewise sentenced to death by his own righteous law, and send Samuel, at her infernal paw-wawing, from heaven, to tell Saul that to-morrow he should be cut in pieces by the Philistines ; there seems to be no consistency at all in it, no, none at all.

The appearance of the thing called Samuel, was, in my opinion, neither more or less than a phantasm or spectre, which (as the Devil is allowed to do) might personate the old departed prophet, and who, at the witch's summons, and by Heaven's permission, came up to pronounce the dreadful sentence upon Saul, and let him see what was the effect of his forsaking God, and rejecting his prophet Samuel. And thus it might be allowed also to speak in the first person of the prophet, as it did ; nor do I say or think, as some do, that it was the Devil in Samuel's likeness ; if it had, it is not likely the old woman would have been so frightened as to cry out, seeing she was better acquainted with the Devil than to be surprised, if it had been her old familiar.

But she saw something she did not expect, and perhaps had never seen before ; for she tells the king she saw gods ascending out of the earth ; by which I cannot but understand she saw some of those spirits which I have mentioned, which are not infernal, and who might foresee what the Devil himself cannot ; for I have no reason to believe that Satan knows anything of futurity.

If it be asked here, by what authority the witch could bring up one even of these spirits ? that indeed may be difficult to answer, other than thus, that it might be, as Balaam was overruled to bless, when he intended to curse ; and that at her call,

and to pronounce the approaching fate of Saul, and Israel with him, she might be overruled, and so called up, or called in, a good spirit instead of the Devil.

As for the spectre's speaking in the name of Samuel in the Scripture, and the text representing it as if it were really Samuel himself, 1 Sam. xxviii. 15. *And Samuel said to Saul, why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?* I take it to be an expression *ad hominem*, to the common understanding, and to be understood as all allegoric or figurative expressions are understood; and it no more proves that it was Samuel, and is no more to be taken literally, than the other words in the same verse are to be literally understood.

1. *Why hast thou disquieted me?* as if it was in Saul's power, by the conjurations of an abhorred condemned limb of the Devil, a proscribed witch, to disquiet the departed soul of Samuel; the meaning is no more than this, What is your business with me, what do you trouble me for? You that despised me, and acted contrary to all my directions, and would go on in your perverseness in spite of me, and of all I could say to you; what do you come to me for, now I am dead?

2. *To bring me up?* intimating that Samuel was below, or was called *ab inferis*; which is contrary to reason as well as religion and neither consists either with our notion, or anybody's else, except it be the soul-sleepers, who tell us, the soul sleeps with the body in the grave till the resurrection; and if so, then must the old woman have had power to awake him whenever she pleased.

Upon the whole, it seems this woman was a witch of some eminency, and had more than ordinary power in her way. For when Saul applies to her, she asks him, Whom shall I bring up? intimating that she was able to bring up who she would, either from heaven or hell.

This boldness plainly infers, that she had no power at all, but this; that being a witch, and one that had a familiar spirit, she could cause her familiar or devil, call it what we will, to appear and personate who she pleased to name. For why should not the Devil be as able to dress himself up like one dead person, as another? and why not appear as well in the shape of a dead man, as of a living one?

So that to me there is no more difficulty in his dressing himself like Samuel, than there was in calling himself so, or than speaking in the first person of Samuel, as above; why disquiet me, and why bring me up? All that seems inexplicable in it is, how he should be able to tell Saul what should happen, viz., that God would deliver Israel into the hands of the Philistines, and him (Saul) with them, and that to-morrow he should be with him; that is, among the dead, should be killed in the battle. This indeed has something difficult in it, because the Devil is not allowed to be a prophet, or able to predict what is to come. But these things may be all answered by the story of Balaam, where the wicked creature, though a wizard, and a conjurer, yet was directed not only to bless Israel in spite of all the gifts and rewards that the king of Moab offered him, but was enabled to prophesy of Christ, and foretell the glorious appearing of the Messiah; Numb. xxiv. 17. *I shall see him, but not now; I shall behold him, but not nigh; there shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel;* and again, *Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion.* This was a plain and direct prophecy of Christ, who is called in the Revelations the morning-star; and yet this Balaam was a witch, a dealer with an evil spirit, and received the wages of unrighteousness.

The next testimony which we find in sacred history of the reality of apparitions, as it respects the

souls of departed persons, is the appearance of Moses and Elias with Jesus Christ on the Mount at his transfiguration; they not only were there, really and personally, in their habits, and so as to be known to the disciples, but they appeared talking with Christ; so that was a perfect and complete apparition, viz. the particular persons appearing, and known by the persons to whom they appeared, Matt. xvii. 3. And in another place the manner of the apparition is described, as also what they talked of, Luke ix. 31: *Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.*

This is so plain and unquestionable an appearance of departed souls, that they who dispute it must not only doubt of the divinity of Scripture, but must dispute its being an authentic history, which its enemies will hardly deny.

We have yet another testimony, and this is as positive and express as the rest, Matt. xxvii. 52; *And the graves were opened, and many of the bodies of the saints which slept arose, and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many.*

This is a remarkable place, and would admit of a long exposition; but I must not preach, and if I might, I am no annotator; as far as it is to my present purpose, the bodies arose, that was extraordinary, but that their souls were also with their bodies is not to be doubted, at least by me, for I have no notion of the body walking about without the soul, nor do we ever read of bodily apparitions.

An apparition is vulgarly called by us a ghost, by our northern people a *ghest*; now the ghost is a spirit, and the apparition of a spirit has some sense in it; the spirits also assuming a shape or body, whether real or in appearance only, has something in it to be talked about; but the apparitions of body,

moving, appearing, walking, or whatever we may call it, without soul or spirit, is what was never heard of, and scarce ever suggested.

It may be observed, that those apparitions quoted from the Scripture are not apparitions in vision, dreams in the night, or supposed appearances only, but plain, open, daylight visions; the former would not be to my purpose at all. These were apparitions that were spoken to and conversed with; and this is a proof of what I allege, viz., that spirits unembodied may appear, may reassume human shape, their own former likeness, or any other, and may show themselves to the world, or to as many persons as they please.

The difficulties which attend this are not a few, though none of them destroy the thing itself; as 1. Whether the souls of good or bad people unembodied are really in a state or condition for such an appearance? and whether it consists with the just notions we ought to have of the unalterable state? I mean such notions as conform to the Scripture, which, if the parable of the rich man and Lazarus be a just representation of it, seems impossible to be, except on such an extraordinary occasion as that of our Saviour's transfiguration and resurrection; that is, by miracle.

Lazarus, says the text, was, upon his death, carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom; the rich man died, and in hell he lift up his eyes. That this is supposed to be immediately, is evident, because the rich man speaks of his brethren that were then alive; if he was not carried thither immediately, he would certainly not have been carried there at all till after the great audit, so that it was plain he was there presently after his death; and that Lazarus was carried immediately to heaven is evident also, because the rich man is brought in

seeing him there, and desiring he may be sent to him.

To say this is but a parable, is to say what may be granted without prejudice to the point in hand. For as it is a parable, it would not have been apposite if it had not represented things as they were really to be, it would have been a delusion, and brought to deceive; whereas it is a parable of our Lord's own bringing, and all those parables that Christ uttered were the most perfect representations and illustrations of the things which they were brought to set forth; nor is any one of them lame in their allusions, but instructive in every article; as the parable of the prodigal son, for example, and the parable of the king making a marriage for his son, and so of the rest. And why must this alone be lame, and unapt for the purpose?

If, then, this parable is suited to represent the state of the souls of the departed, those souls, then, can no way be concerned in the apparitions which we are speaking of, except as is before excepted, viz., on such extraordinary occasions as that of our Saviour above must be acknowledged to be.

If, then, neither the souls or spirits of the blessed or cursed, the happy or miserable, the saved or the condemned, are concerned in those appearances, who, then, are these inhabitants of the invisible world? What are they that constitute and possess this world of spirits, so much talked of? And if the immense spaces are taken up, if they are peopled by any spirituous creatures, if anything but stars and planets range through the *empty place*, as Job calls it, Job xxvi. 7, what are they, and what are the spirits that inhabit those worlds?

There must be certainly a world of spirits, or of spirit, from whence we receive the frequent visits in public, and the frequent notices in private, which

are so perceptible to us, and which we are so uneasy about ; if they are neither good spirits nor bad, if they have neither power to do us good nor hurt, as I see a great deal of reason to believe, then we have not so much reason to be terrified about them as we generally are : but of that hereafter.

As to the locality of the Devil, and his appearance, that indeed is another article, and he may, as is said already, cover himself with what shapes, human or brutal, he pleases ; but then this would bring all apparition to be by the appearance of the Devil, and all the empire of the air to be possessed by him, which I cannot grant ; particularly, because, as I said, some of these apparitions come of good errands, to prevent mischief, to protect innocence and virtue, and to discover injury, injustice, and oppression, all which are things very much out of the Devil's way, remote from his practice, and much more remote from his design : the spirits I speak of must be of a higher original, they must be heaven-born, of the glorious original of angelic species ; and as all things are known by their consequences, so they are known by their actings ; they do heaven's work, are under his immediate government and direction, and are honoured with his special commission ; they are employed in his immediate business, namely, the common good of his creature, man : they that do good, demonstrate, in the best manner, that they are good.

So that every way we should meet with some difficulty in this case, unless solved, as I said before, by the denominating another class of spirits neither immediately celestial, or at all infernal ; neither embodied, or that have been embodied, or that shall ever be embodied.

It cannot be expected I should describe what these are, and in what condition ; it is sufficient that I only say such may be there, and that they

may be such as he thinks good to place there who made that empty place ; I may as well ask the inquirer what sort of inhabitants they are who possess the moon or any of the planets, and whether they dwell in a state of innocence, or have contracted guilt ; and if the latter, whether there is a glorious establishment of redemption, and a covenant of life granted for them, as there is here, by the purchase and merit of a Saviour.

It is no fair question to ask me a demonstration for an hypothesis ; or is it reasonable to tell me they will not believe it, because I cannot prove the affirmative of what I do not affirm. I advance the probability, and say, that it is the more probable, because (as they say of the new philosophy) by this we can solve several other phenomena, which we cannot otherwise account for ; and I allege it is much more probable and more rational to suggest it, than it is that the planets should be inhabited, for which it is certain that God must have created a new species of creatures, or that none can dwell there.

The waste or the empty space, as Job calls it, is full of spirits ; I believe that may be taken for granted : they are placed there, if they are there, by the powerful hand of the Creator : there is no philosophy can be pleaded against the place being habitable ; whereas the objections against the planets being habitable are unanswerable, but by the absurdity of bringing Almighty power in to create several new species of creatures, some to live in fire, some in frost, some in all darkness and ice, some in boiling waters and scalding air.

The inhabitants which I suggest are created for the regions of the invisible world, are spirits, invisible substances, bodies without body, such as are proper for the expanse in which they live, and eligible for us to conceive of ; and though we can-

not grasp a spirit with our hands, feel it and see it, yet we can in some manner conceive of it. But for the planetary inhabitants, we cannot account for them to ourselves or any one else, nor can we conceive anything of them that we can say is probable or rational.

Is it at all irrational to suppose, or improbable to be, that God may have made a degree of angels or of ministering spirits (whether they are angelic, or of other species, is not for us to determine) who may be of a differing degree, appointed for a differing residence, and to different employments from the superior angels, for a season?

As there are different degrees of glory in heaven, stars of different magnitude and lustre in the firmament, so may there not be angels or spirits of differing quality and degrees of power and favour? why else are they called thrones, and dominions, principalities, and powers? they are all titles of honour given to the angels in the Scripture, Eph. i. 21. and vi. 12. If there be several titles, there must be several degrees.

There can be no superior, if there are no inferior; what can we understand by thrones and principalities in heaven, but degrees of angels? Besides, what do we understand by angels and archangels? 1 Thess. iv. 16. *shall descend with the voice of an archangel*: and again Jude, ver. 3. *Michael the archangel*.

If there are angels which are not archangels, but of an inferior degree, so there may be also different degrees among the angels which are not archangels; and some of these may be appointed their residence in the air or atmosphere of this world (earth), or within the compass of this particular solar system, for I allow there may be several like systems.

Thus those that will suppose these appearances to be of none but angels, I shall not contend at all

with them : I exclude no species of spirits, but the departed unembodied souls of men ; I have allowed apparitions to the Devil himself upon his own wicked and proper occasions. I only cannot grant, that because God can, therefore he does employ him, upon his own gracious and beneficent orders to his creatures ; this must at least seem to bring Providence to a necessity of employing him for want of other officers, which I think is highly detracting, and dishonouring of the divine Majesty, as if he was obliged to employ the Devil, as we say, for want of a better.

But excluding Satan, I think God does not want agents ; he has apparently posted an army of ministering spirits, call them angels if you will, or what else you please ; I say, posted them round this convex, this globe the earth, to be ready at all events, to execute his orders and to do his will, reserving still to himself to send express messengers of a superior rank on extraordinary occasions.

I make no question but these are the angels which carried away Lazarus into Abraham's bosom, I mean which are supposed to do so.

I doubt not, these are the angels of which Christ says, his father, if he had prayed, would have sent him more than twelve legions for his guard.

To say it is not to be expected God should cause such an host of glorious spirits to attend on this little point the earth, and this despicable species called man, would be but to oblige me to say, what may not God be supposed to do for that creature whom he so loved as to send his only begotten son to redeem ? so at least that question is fully answered.

Now these spirits, let them be what they will, and call them angels if you please, I conceive these are they whose appearances give us so much difficulty to solve : these may, without any absurdity,

be supposed capable of assuming shape, conversing with mankind, either in the ordinary or extraordinary way, either by voice and sound, though in appearances and borrowed shapes, or by private notices of things, impulses, forebodings, misgivings, and other imperceptible communications to the minds of men, as God their great employer may direct.

Nor are these notions of them at all absurd or inconceivable, though the manner how they act may not be understood by us: it is but soul conversing with soul, spirit communicating to spirit, one intellectual being to another, and by secret conveyances, such as souls converse by.

Neither is the apparition of these spirits any absurdity; these may be intimate with us, appear to us, be concerned about us, without any thing unintelligible in it: why may not one spirit be so as well as another? and one kind or species of spirits as well as another?

If these are innocent, good meaning, and beneficent spirits, why may it not consist with the wisdom and goodness of God to suffer such to be conversant with men, and to have access to the spirits embodied, as well as to allow the Devil and evil spirits to converse so among us to our hurt?

But let me give one caution here, and enter my protest against the power, or pretences to the power, of raising, or, as it is called, bringing up these spirits. To call them, and summon them up for intelligence of human affairs, and this by magic and conjurations, which we vulgarly and justly enough call the black art; I cannot allow this part of science to have any influence upon, or command over, any good spirit: but that, as the witch of Endor obtained of the Devil to personate the old prophet Samuel, and appear in his shape, speak in his name, and act the prophet in masquerade; so these men

of art may bring the Devil to mimic a good spirit, call himself an inhabitant of the world of spirits, and so delude mankind, as he does in almost everything he says to them; but he cannot really call up one of these independent free spirits, who are perfectly out of his reach wherever they are; and whose angelic nature places them above, not under him, or at his command.

Satan is a conquered, subdued enemy; and these indeed were his conquerors, and are still his terror; he abhors them, and hates them, and flees before them: and what if I should say they were placed in this situation, namely, in the invisible regions near and about this world, for this very reason, viz. to keep under this arch-enemy and rebel? as a conquering prince having obtained a glorious victory over a powerful rebel, though he retires from the country with his troops, the war being over, yet leaves a good body of forces to keep the peace of the country, and to awe the rebels from any further attempt.

Thus they are guardian angels really, and in the very letter of it, without being obliged to attend at every particular man's ear or elbow. Mankind are thus truly said to be in the hands of God always; and Providence, which constantly works by means and instruments, has the government of the world actually in his administration, not only by his infinite power, but by immediate deputation, and the subdued Devil is a prisoner of war both chained and restrained.

CHAP. VI.

Of the manner how the spirits of every kind, which can or do appear among us, manage their appearance ; and how they proceed.

THE possibility being thus settled, and it being granted that spirits, or detached angels, do converse with mankind visibly as well as invisibly, and have access to us, to our souls as well as bodies, as well by secret communication as by open and public apparition ; it remains to inquire into the manner how this conversation is carried on.

I have already entered my protest against all those arts called magical and diabolic, by which man is made capable (at least) of being aggressor in this communication, that he can call up these spirits, or call them down rather, and begin the conversation when he pleases.

Whether by compact and secret hellish familiarity with the Devil he may not obtain leave to use Satan with such freedom, I will not determine ; I doubt he may ; for the Devil may depute such and such powers and privileges to his confederates, as to his honour and in his great wisdom shall seem meet : but that he can empower them to do the like with those good and beneficent spirits of the invisible world, who are (I have supposed) spirits, not devils, that I deny, nor do I see any reason to grant it.

I come then to the manner the spirits, which I would suppose may inhabit the utmost waste, are able to correspond with us ; and first, as spirits or angels, call them as you will, they are to be supposed, like other spirits, to have an extensive know-

ledge, and a view of all created substances, at least on this side heaven; a vast capacious understanding, an unbounded sight, a liberty of locomotion, passing from one region to another, from one planet to another; they are not congealed by cold, or calcined by heat; that they are able to exist in all climates, even from Saturn to Mercury; that they may go and come, appear and disappear here or where else they please; in a word, that they are free agents, as well in their motions as actings. Hence they are necessarily to be supposed to know all things needful to be known, relating to us, as well as to other things; that they can take cognizance of human affairs, and that not by grant or license or by second-hand information from hell, from the infernal spirit, or any other place, but by their own angelic and spirituous penetration; and that they have no dependence upon Satan, or any power or person concerned with him; that they act also as spirit on all occasions.

Though we see nothing of them, they see us; though we know nothing of them, they know and are conversant about us, are capable of being affected and moved in our behalf, and to concern themselves for our good on many accounts. Hence they often give us notices and warnings of evils attending us, though they cannot act so upon material objects, as to interfere with our affairs, overrule our fate, or direct us how to avoid the evils which they foresee, or to embrace the good which they see attending us; of which, and the reasons of it, I have spoken already.

As they can thus communicate things to our imagination, so we may suppose, that in prosecution of that beneficent concern which they have for us, they can and frequently do assume human shape, and come to us, talk to us, and converse intimately with us in apparition and by voice, nay, even in

dialogue, question and answer, as they see occasion.

This conversing in apparition, is what we call walking; and when any such thing is seen, we say a spirit walks, or haunts such a place; and though this is a mighty terrible thing in the vulgar appearance, and the people, when these things appear to them, are apt to say they see the Devil; yet it is very often a mistake, and a very wide mistake, as appears by the consequence.

I have heard of a man who travelled four years through most of the northern countries of Europe with the Devil; if all those spectres or apparitions are devils, which I must not grant; nor was this spectre so insincere as to conceal itself all the while from him, but discovered to him that he was but an apparition, without body, substance, or anything but shape.

If the account I have of this apparition be true, and I have had it by me many years, he did him good, and not hurt; he guided him through deserts and over mountains, over frozen lakes, and little seas covered with snow; he diverted him with discourses of various subjects, always issuing for his good, and for the increase of knowledge: he went with him over the sea from Ireland to the coast of Norway: he procured winds for him, without buying them of witches and Laplanders: he did not raise storms for him, because being a traveller and upon a voyage, he had no occasion of them; but he foretold storms punctually and exactly, prevented the ship's putting out to sea when storms were approaching; found the ship's boat and anchors, when the first was driven away in the night, and the second weighed and run away with by the Norwegians in the dark, the ship having been obliged to slip and run up into harbour; I say, he found them, that is to say, directed the seamen where to find them, and to discover the thieves.

He did a thousand things for him, and for his accommodation in his travels; he was acquainted wherever he came, and procured his fellow-traveller entertainment and good usage; he knew the affairs of every country, and the very people too; he spoke every language, German, Norse or Norway, Polish, Prussian, Russian, Hungarian, Tartarian, and Turkish.

He passed rivers without bridges, though he would never let his fellow-traveller see him do that, or help him to do it; nor would he let him see him mount into the air upon any occasion whatever; but would set him in his way, give him very faithful directions how to find the places he was going to, and then strike off some other way, as if he had business at this or that place, and would not fail to meet him again punctually at the place he appointed.

Sometimes he would be seen at a distance a mile or more, to-day on his right, to-morrow on his left hand, and keeping even pace with him, come into the same village or town where he lodged, and take up as it were at another inn; but if he inquired for him in the morning he was always gone, and the people knew nothing of him, except that they just saw such a man the evening before, but that he did not stay.

When he had travelled thus with him from Ireland, as I said, to the coast of Norway, where they were driven in by storm; and after that by sea round the said coast of Norway to Gottenburgh, where they put in again by contrary winds, he persuaded the traveller not to go any further in that ship.

The traveller being bound with the vessel to Dantzic, and having a considerable quantity of goods on board, would by no means be prevailed with to quit the ship: his fellow-traveller told

him he had the second-sight, and that he was assured the ship should never come to Dantzic. However the traveller not giving so much credit to him as that required, and not knowing anything of him at that time, but that he was a strange, intelligent, foreseeing man (as he called him), would continue the voyage; whereupon the stranger left him, and the ship pursuing the voyage, was surprised with another dangerous storm; I say another, because they had had one before. In this tempest the ship was driven upon the coast of Rugen, an island on the German side of the Baltic, where with much difficulty they put into Stralsund, a seaport of Pomerania, and there the traveller went on shore.

Here walking pensively, and concerned about the event of his fortune, and fearing the ship would really be lost, as his first man had foretold him; I say, walking very anxious upon the quay at Stralsund, there meets him a man who he was utterly a stranger to, but who salutes him in English, calls him by his name, and asks him what he did there.

Surprised with such a salutation, and glad to see any man in such a strange remote country that he was like to be acquainted with, and much more that could call him by his name, he returned his compliment, and answered, that indeed he had not much business there, but that he came thither by a very unfortunate occasion.

I know you are, says the gentleman; you came in here last night in yon ship; pointing to the vessel which lay in the road between the city and the island of Rugen.

I did so, says the traveller, and I am like to have but ill luck with her.

I doubt so, says the stranger, and I suppose that made you look so much concerned.

I cannot deny, said he, but I might look troubled, I think I have cause, for I am here in a strange country, without acquaintance or interest, and know not yet what condition the ship is in, or my goods, which I doubt are damaged.

I am assured, says the gentleman, the ship will not be able to pursue her voyage, but perhaps your cargo may be safe. I understand the goods you have on board are herrings.

They are so, says the traveller; I have twelve last of herrings on board, and we have had a long voyage already.

I know you have, said the gentleman; but pull up your spirits, your fish is all safe, and you may get it on shore; and you shall either sell it here, or get ships here to reload it again for Dantzic; and seeing you are a stranger, adds he, I will get you some assistance.

All this while he had not asked him his name; but now he said to him, Will you not let me know, sir, who it is I am thus much obliged to?

First, returns he, let me see and get you some help, that you may go cheerfully about your business, and we'll talk of that afterwards; so he bade him walk a little there, and he would come to him again.

He had not walked long but he sees a messenger coming to him, to tell him that there was an English gentleman desired to speak with him at such a house, and that he was to guide him to the place.

Accordingly he follows the messenger, who brings him to a public house where were three gentlemen sitting in a room, and the man he had conversed with made a fourth, who called him in, and bade him sit down, which he did.

The three gentlemen saluted him very kindly, and one of them also in English, and told him they

had received an account of his circumstances from that gentleman, and that they sent for him to comfort and assist him.

This was a kind and agreeable surprise to him, and he could not but receive it with all civility and acknowledgment possible. After which they asked him to sup with them, which he accepted of, and at supper hearing the whole of the case, they sent for a merchant of that city to come to them.

When the merchant was come they recommended the stranger's affair to him; and he, the merchant, was so assistant to the stranger that he bought all his cargo of fish, or procured others to buy it, giving him a price to his satisfaction, and gave him as much money there as he required, and good bills payable at Dantzic for the rest.

In the mean time, (for this was transacting several days,) the three gentlemen continued exceeding courteous and obliging to him; and after many other civilities, they being travelling into Poland, invited the traveller to go with them as far as Dantzic, which they knew he was bound for, and that they would subsist him at their own charge so far. The traveller considering his own condition, and that the ship he came in was not in condition to pursue the voyage, resolved to accept of the offer, and accordingly prepared to go with them: but he was extremely concerned that he could not see the kind stranger who had first saluted him as above, and who brought him to the gentlemen that were now so extraordinary civil to him; he inquired after him of the messenger that fetched him to that house, but he knew him not; he asked the people of the house, but they could give no account of him; he asked the three gentlemen about him, but they knew nothing of him; the English gentleman among them said, he thought he belonged to that gentleman, pointing to another of the three who

was a German; the German answered that he understood he was the third gentleman's friend, who was a Swede, that is, a Pomeranian, for Pomerania is under the dominion of the Swedes. But the Swede said, he thought he was the English gentleman's brother, for he spoke English very well; in a word, nobody knew him, and he saw him no more.

In a week more, or thereabout, the four gentlemen (for now there were so many) set out together, with every one a servant, except our traveller, who had none. Every one that knows the country from Stetin to Dantzic and Poland, knows that it is a desert and wild country, very thin of inhabitants, and consequently not full of towns, with several woods and wastes in their way, very difficult to travel; and this obliged them several times to take guides by the way, so that they made up with their guides always eight, sometimes ten in company, very well armed, and tolerably well mounted.

The third day after they were past the Oder, and began to come out of that part of Pomerania which lies east of Stetin, and is called the Ducal Pomerania, they observed a man, mean in apparel, but appearing something more than merely what poverty represents, travelling the same way as they did, but always keeping at about the distance of half a mile from them on their left hand.

He travelled on foot, but kept full pace with them, and often was some way before them; whether he was in a track or road, as they were, they could not tell, but he kept such an equal distance as if the road he was in was parallel with theirs; indeed sometimes they lost sight of him for a while, yet they were sure to find him again at some little distance, either before them or behind them; and this continued three days before they took any extraordinary notice of him.

But the third day they were a little more curious about him, and one of them, with a servant attending, rode from the company, intending to speak with him ; but as soon as he saw them come towards him, the stranger fled further to the left from them, still however keeping on his way forward, but plainly shunning being spoken with ; so the gentleman and his servant came back again, having made no discovery, except this, that the stranger kept no path or track, that there was no road or way in the place where he marched, but that he only kept at such a certain distance from them ; from whence they concluded that he was only some poor man that was travelling over that wild country, and having gotten some intelligence of their journey, kept pace with them to guide him the way : but two things amused them strangely that third day of their travel.

1. They observed, that, riding over a large plain, where there were some few scattering houses which lay on the other side of the road south, (for he kept all along, before, on the north side of them,) I say, passing over this plain, the traveller, keeping a little behind them, crossed the road, and going up to one of the said scattered houses, knocked at the door and went in.

Upon this they resolved if possible to get some knowledge of him ; so they rode all up to another of those houses ; here, calling to the inhabitants, though it was no inn or house of entertainment, but a poor husbandman's cottage, they got leave to refresh themselves, having provisions and wine of their own, and giving the good wife a small bottle of about half a pint of brandy at parting, the people were abundantly satisfied.

Here, talking of the traveller, and at what house he called in the village, (for though the houses stood straggling over the waste, yet as there were near

twenty of them in all, it was called a town,) here, I say, talking of the traveller, and of his knocking at the door of one of the houses, the woman of the house, understanding their language, hastily asked, What, says she, have you seen the Owke Mouraski? Who she meant they did not know, but describing the person to her, and she also to them, they began to come to an understanding. Did he not keep pace with you, says she, on the north side of the road all the way? Yes, said they.

Ay, says she, and had you offered to ride towards him, you would always have found him as far off as at first.

That amused them. Why, what is he? says one of the gentlemen.

Nay, we know not, says she, nor desire to know.

Why so? says he.

Because, says she, he brings no good luck; pray at what house do ye say he knocked at the door?

They described the house: at which the woman and all the children fell a crying, and making a great sign of sorrow.

What's the matter, says the gentlemen, what are you disturbed at?

O, says the good woman, that Owke Mouraski never calls at any house in the town but some or other of the family dies that year.

By this it seemed that he came often that way; so he asked the woman how often he was used to be seen thereabouts.

She answered, Not often, perhaps once or twice a year; and, says she, sometimes he passes by and calls or knocks at no house in his way, and then, adds she, we are glad to see him.

Why, says the gentleman, what, do you take him to be the Devil?

No, no, says she, not the Devil, no, he is a very good man.

But why are you so afraid of him, then? says he.

Because, says she, he knows more than all the men in the world; he knows if any one is to die, and then he knocks at the house to tell them to be ready.

(Here the woman inquired more exactly about the house where the traveller called, and the gentleman, going to the door, pointed it out to her, at which she left off crying, and then rejoiced as much as she had lamented before; for it seems she had mistaken it for another house which stood near it, and where her own father and mother lived.)

Then he asked her what countryman the traveller was?

She said they did not know that, for nobody ever spoke to him, they were afraid.

Why, says he, when he knocks at the door don't ye speak to him?

No, says she, nor does he speak a word; but just as he goes away he will sometimes say ———, (repeating a word which I do not remember, but signifies 'be comforted,') and then they are sure the person shall be sick only, but shall not die.

But, says he, do they entertain him, or give him anything?

Yes, says she, they set bread before him, and he takes a small piece in his hand; but nobody can say they ever saw him eat.

But what do you take him to be, then? says he.

A good angel, says the woman; adding another hard word of their own, signifying that he did no hurt to anybody: and, says she, to some families he is a messenger of good. All this gave them amusement, but no particular satisfaction, and rather prompted their curiosity to make further inquiry about him. After about an hour's refreshing themselves at this poor cottage, they proceeded on their journey, and having rode about two miles, they saw

their old object again on the left or north side of their road, as before, and he kept in their sight in the same manner all the rest of the day.

There was a town, I think 'tis called Kintzigen, or some such-like name, at a few miles' distance, and where their guide told them they should lodge; and before they came to the town there was a river, not a great or very wide river, but too large to ride through it, and at the town there is a very good stone bridge, built, as they were told, by the ancestors of the kings of Prussia, that is, as I suppose, the old dukes of Pomerania.

Accordingly they passed this bridge, and then went into the town. It was most natural to them to observe what course the traveller would take to pass the river; who as he went on must necessarily come to the bank, at near a mile distance from the town; so they halted a little, one of them alighting from his horse, as if something had required their stay, that the traveller might go on before them, which he did.

Observing him as narrowly as possible, they followed him, with their eyes, down to the very edge of the river, nor did he stop or take notice of them, though they saw him plainly to the very bank; but here not being able to keep him exactly in their sight every moment, they immediately saw him going up the rising grounds, on the other side, without being capable of giving the least account how he passed the water.

This was the other passage, which, I say, amused them very much.

As soon as they came into the town where they were to lodge, their guide, looking beyond the house where they stopped, called to them, Look yonder, says he, is your traveller sitting at the door of such an inn or house, pointing to the place; and there they saw him plain at the door eating a piece of

bread, and having a pot or jug of Polish beer standing by him. One of the gentlemen, resolving, if possible, to speak with him, walked up in his boots to the place, seeing him sitting all the while he was going, till coming very near, and happening to turn his eyes but one moment from him, when he looked again, the man was gone.

He asked the people of the house about him, but they knew nothing of him, only that, as they said, there was such a man, but he was gone, and they neither knew who he was, or whither he was gone.

Then he asked them if they did not know the Owke Mouraski; they said Yes, they had heard of, but they did not know him.

Why, says the gentleman, don't you know that this was he that sat upon the bench?

No, they said, that could not be he, that was a poor countryman, a traveller.

The gentleman assured them that was he; at which they seemed very much concerned, but seemed very willing not to believe him.

Why, says he, are you afraid of him?

No, say they, but we don't like his coming to us, for, they say, he brings no good to the family where he comes.

But this discourse ended, and the gentleman gained no information there.

The next day they had his company again, as before; and passing by a single house upon the road, near a village, but standing quite out of the road, they observed the traveller to stop at that house and go in.

By this time their curiosity was very much heightened, and they began to be something uneasy about him; it was not very pleasant, they thought, to have the Devil so near them, and they could think him to be nothing less; so they all turned back, and resolved to go to the house, and if he was

there, to speak with him, if possible ; and if not, to inform themselves as much as they could about him.

When they came within about a quarter of a mile of the house, they saw the traveller on the other side, having gone out at the back door, and travelling forward as unconcerned, and taking no notice of them, just as before.

This surprised them ; however they went up to the house, and inquired about him, as they did before : but here they received a quite differing account of him ; here the people blessed him, called him by the same name, but took him for their good angel, (as they called him,) that he always brought them good tidings, that they were sure it would fare well with them after he had been with them ; and a great deal more.

But to bring this story to a conclusion, so far as it serves the present occasion. This spectre, or apparition, for so I must call it, attended them till they came within two leagues of Dantzic, where the gentlemen separated, after a day or two staying in the city ; the three gentlemen going from thence to Mariembourg in Polish Prussia, and our traveller was left in Dantzic.

While he was here a man made acquaintance with him who was bound to Koningsberg, and our traveller being resolved to go for Petersburg, was glad to have this new acquaintance, which he had, as we may say, picked up, to go with him ; so they embarked together in a small hoy, upon the sea or lake called the Frischaff, which carried them to Koningsberg. He gives a strange though diverting account of his conversation with this man, who told him so many stories of several kinds, that it amazed him ; and he looked as if he knew all the world, and all the people in it, and all things that had happened in it, or would happen in it for ever to come, and something longer.

However, as the Frischaff is not above three or four days' sail, and they were quickly at Koningsberg, the conversation was soon over, and this new acquaintance ended; but the traveller continuing his journey, inquired in the city if there were any passengers or gentlemen travelling towards Riga, either by land or by sea, and being directed to a house where strangers used to resort, he found there several people bound for Riga, some merchants, some country people, some seafaring people, but most inclined to go by sea, there being vessels always ready at the Pillau, which is a town at the mouth of the Haff, ready to sail for Riga, if goods or passengers presented.

But among them all there was an ancient man, habited like a Russ, or rather like a Greek priest, with a long venerable beard, a purple robe or long garment, such as the Russians wear, a high stiff-crowned fur cap, and a close vest about his body, girded with a silk sash; and he declared himself for Riga; but that being an old man, he would not go by sea, but that he had two horses in the city besides his own, having brought two servants with him from Grodno in Lithuania, but one of them had left him; so he offered the traveller to lend him one of his horses for his company, if he would travel with him to Mittau in Courland, and thence to Riga.

It will take up too much room here, to give a full account of the travels of this wandering person, and how in almost every place he found a new shape ready to thrust into his company, and that for four years intimate ramble; but that at last, being in Turkey, his latest companion discovered to him that he was an inhabitant of an invisible region, that he had been in his company in all his journey in all the different figures that he had met with, and that in a word he was the same person that embarked with him in Ireland, landed with him in Norway, left him

at Gottenburg, found him at Stralsund, dogged him upon the way to Dantzic, sailed with him to Koningsberg, lent him a horse to go to Riga, and so on ; and that he had only put on so many shapes and appearances, that he might not be uneasy with him, and tired of his company.

How they went on together after that, and the conversation that passed between them after the discovery ; how familiar friends they were for some months after, and what reasons he gave why he would never believe that it was a Devil, but a good and kind spirit sent to take care of him, and assist him in his travels ; all that, as foreign to my present purpose, I omit. Perhaps the story may see the world by itself, and well worth reading it will be, if it does. But of that by the by.

As I do not here enter into the authority of the story, (though, as I said, I have seen it in manuscript many years ago) so I have no more to say from it than this, that if such good spirits are conversant with mankind, and resident in the invisible spaces, we know not where ; if we have reason to believe they are not angels, and yet really by their actions cannot be devils ; then it follows that there are a certain middle species of spirits in being ; let them be what they will, let them be employed, directed, limited, and restrained, how and in what manner he pleases who is their Maker, and who ought to be their guide and director ; that's not the matter, nor can it be inquired into here ; the question before us is only whether such there are, or no ?

Now if it be granted that there are such, and that brings it down to the present case, if there are such, then all apparitions are not devils ; no, nor are they walking disturbed souls of men lately embodied and departed ; a notion empty and not to be defended ; incongruous, and inconsistent either with Scripture, the Christian religion, or reason, and

founded only in the bewildered imaginations and dreams of ignorant people, who neither know how or by what rules to judge of such things, or are capable of right conceptions about them ; who do not give themselves time to exercise that little power of thinking that they are masters of, and so are left to the darkness of their own fancies, thinking everything they see is a devil, merely because they know not what else to make of it, what other name to give it, or that it can be possible anything but devils or angels can come of such errands.

By this mistake they give the Devil the honour of many an action, which he is too much a devil to have any hand in ; ascribe works of charity and benevolence to him ; make him move injurious and knavish men to do justice, thieves to make restitution, cruel and inhuman wretches to be merciful, cheats to turn honest, robbers to desist, and sinners to repent.

Story tells us, that Hind, that famous outlawed robber, the most famous since Robin Hood, met a spectre upon the road, in a place called Stangate-hole, in Huntingdonshire, where he used to commit his robberies ; and famous for many a highway robbery since that.

The spectre appeared in the habit of a plain country grazier ; and as the Devil, you may suppose, knew very well the haunts and retreats that this Hind used to frequent, he comes into the inn, and taking up his quarters, puts up his horse, and makes the hostler carry up his portmanteau, which was very heavy, into his chamber ; when he was in the chamber he opens his pack, takes out his money, which seemed to be in several small parcels, and puts it together into no more than two bags, that it might make an equal weight to each side of his horse, and make as much show of it as possible.

Houses that entertain rogues are seldom without

spies to give them due intelligence; Hind gets notice of the money, sees the man, sees the horse, that he may know him again; finds out which way the countryman travels, meets him at Stangate-hole, just in the bottom between the two hills, and stops him, telling him he must deliver his money.

When he named the money the grazier feigns himself surprised, puts on the panic, trembles, and is frightened, and with a pitiful tone says, I am, as you see, but a poor man; indeed, sir, I have no money; [there the Devil showed that he could speak truth when it served his occasion.] O you old dog, says he, have you no money? Come, open your cloak-bag, and give me the two bags, one on one side your saddle and one on t'other: what, have you no money, and yet your bags were too heavy to lie all on one side? Come, come, deliver, or I'll cut you to pieces this moment. (There he was out too, and threatened more than he could do.) Well, the poor devil whines and cries, and tells him he must be mistaken, he took him for another man sure, for indeed he had no money.

Come, come, says Hind, come along with me; and so he takes his horse by the bridle, and leads him out of the road into the woods, which are very thick there on both sides, and the business was too long to stand in the open road all the while to do it.

When he had gotten into the woods, come, Mr. Grazier, says he, dismount, and give me the two bags this minute. In short he dismounts the poor man, cuts his bridle and his girths, and opens his cloak-bag, where he finds the two bags. Very well, says Hind, here they are, and heavy as before; so he throws them on the ground, cuts them open, in one he finds a halter, and in the other a piece of solid brass in the exact shape of a gibbet, and the countryman behind him called to him, There's your fate, Hind, take care.

If he was surprised at what he had found in the bags, (for there was not a farthing of money but in the bag where the halter was, of which presently,) I say, if he was surprised at what he found in the bags, he was more so at hearing the countryman call him by his name, and turned about to kill him, because he thought he was known; but he had no life nor soul left in him, when turning about, as I say, to kill the fellow, he saw nothing but the poor horse. He sunk down to the earth, and lay there a considerable time; how long, that, being alone, he could not tell, but it must be some minutes. At last coming to himself he goes away terrified to the last degree, and ashamed, wondering what it should be.

I hinted that there was no money but one piece found, which the story says was Scotch, a piece called in Scotland a fourteen, in English, a thirteen pence half-penny, to pay the hangman with; from whence it may be supposed that saying is used to this day, that thirteen pence half-penny is hangman's wages.

Now though the story has some mirth in it, and may with the many stories of that robber be laid by as romances, yet it is thus far to my purpose, that this was a spirit, that must be acknowledged. A good angel from heaven would hardly have been sent to give him such an ineffectual, insignificant hint, which had no sufficient effect, whatever it might have just then to surprise him, for he robbed continually after that, and was hanged at last for it.

The Devil, as before, cannot rationally be suspected in the case; for why should the Devil both balk him, threaten, and caution him? threaten him with hanging him, fright him with the gibbet and halter, and caution him to take care. This was not for the Devil's purpose, it was more for his interest to have him go on, though he came to the gallows at last.

If then it was neither good angel nor bad, what

must it be, and how must we judge of it? what name must we give him, and who was this country grazier?

To come off this, some will have it be that it is the Devil under constraint, the Devil in commission, that he is sent on such errands by a superior power that has him at command, and that when he is directed to do so and so, he must obey, he dare do no otherwise. This is begging the question in the grossest manner imaginable. Besides, why was the Devil sent of such errands?

1st. It is not probable, it is not to be gathered from the ordinary course of Providence. The Devil indeed was permitted, or, if you will have it, he was commissioned to strip and afflict poor Job; and he was again permitted to enter into the herd of swine; but this does not amount to a parallel: in both those examples he was only employed as an instrument, and, as we may express it, in his ordinary business, in the way of his calling, that is to say, in doing mischief; but here he is supposed employed in doing good, cautioning an hardened rogue to leave off his wicked course, and escape the gallows. Now this is quite out of Satan's road of business; it is also out of the ordinary course of Heaven's conduct, for when do we find God employing the Devil in any good work? I do not remember one clear example of it in all the sacred history.

2nd. It would argue that Heaven should want instruments, which is not at all just to infer; will they pretend that, for want of more proper agents, God should employ the Devil to save a highwayman from the gallows? and, which is more than all the rest, should not bring it to pass neither? But if you will allow that this was one of the imaginary species of spirits, who, willing to save a poor wretch that was running headlong to the Devil, took all these measures to alarm him and bring him to just

reflections, but was not able to reclaim him, was not admitted to give him notice when he was about the fatal act he was surprised in, or to warn him when the officers came to apprehend him, this seems rational.

If the Devil should be supposed to be employed in such a work as this was, and so contrary to his inclination, either he would perform it like himself, treacherous and unfaithful, or, at best, reluctant and unwilling. Perhaps you will say he durst not perform it treacherously and unfaithfully; and it may be not. But why must it be supposed Heaven should employ his worst and wickedest creature, whom he had long since disbanded and cast out of his service, rejecting him as unworthy to be employed; and who, if he was employed, and durst not decline the work, yet, it must be acknowledged, would obey with the utmost aversion and unwillingness; when at the same time millions of faithful agents, willing and cheerfully-obedient servants, are ready at command, to execute his will with the utmost vigour and fidelity?

But to leave arguing upon inscrutables, let us come to narration of facts.

I have another account received from a particular acquaintance in a neighbouring nation. I could name persons and places in a more exact manner to these accounts; but some reasons of state forbid us at this time to enter into the circumstances of families; for where matters of apparition and witchcraft are the substance of the history it has never been found reasonable to name houses and families; and as this apology will be allowed to be just, I expect it will be accepted by the reader in all the examples I shall give of this kind.

A certain person of quality, being with his family at his country seat for the summer season, according to his ordinary custom, was obliged, upon a particu-

lar occasion of health, to leave his said seat, and go to Aix-la-Chapelle, to use the baths there ; this was, it seems, in the month of August, being two months sooner than the usual time of his returning to court for the winter.

Upon thus removing sooner than ordinary he did not then disfurnish the house, as was the ordinary usage of the family, or carry away his plate and other valuable goods, but left his steward and three servants to look after the house ; and the *padre*, or parish priest, was desired to keep his eye upon them too, and to succour them from the village adjoining, if there was occasion.

The steward had no public notice of any harm approaching, but for three or four days successively he had secret strange impulses of dread and terror upon his mind that the house was beset, and was to be assaulted by a troop of banditti, or, as we call them here, housebreakers, who would murder them all, and after they had robbed the house, would set it on fire ; and this followed him so fast, and made such impression upon his mind, that he could think of nothing else.

Upon this, the third day he went to the *padre*, or parish priest, and made his complaint ; upon which the priest and the steward had the following discourse, the steward beginning thus :

Father, said he, you know what a charge I have in my custody, and how my lord has entrusted me with the whole house, and all the rich furniture is standing : I am in great perplexity about it, and come to you for your advice.

P. Why, what's the matter ? you have not heard of any mischief threatened, have you ?

S. No, I have heard of nothing : but I have such apprehensions, and it has made such impression upon me for these three days, that—

(*Here he told him the particulars of the uneasi-*

ness he had been in, and added, besides what is said above, that one of the servants had the same, and had told him of it, though he had communicated nothing to that servant in the least.)

P. It may be you dreamed of these things?

S. No, indeed, *padre*; I am sure I could not dream of them, for I could never sleep.

P. What can I do for you? what would you have me do?

S. I would have you first of all tell me what you think of these things, and whether there is any notice to be taken of them.

(*Here the padre examined him more strictly about the particulars, and sent for the servant, and examined him apart; and being a very judicious, honest man, he answered him thus:*)

P. Look you, Mr. Steward, I do not lay a very great stress upon such things, but yet I don't think they are to be wholly slighted; and therefore I would have you be upon your guard, and if you have the least alarm, let me know.

S. That is poor satisfaction to me to be upon my guard, if I am overpowered. I suppose, if any villains have a design to attack me, they know my strength.

P. Shall I reinforce your garrison.

S. I wish you would.

P. Well, I'll send you some men with fire-arms to lie there this night.

Accordingly the priest sent him five stout fellows with fusees, and a dozen of hand-grenadoes with them, and while they continued in the house nothing appeared; but the *padre*, finding nothing come of it, and being loath to put his patron to so continued a charge, sent for the steward, and in a chiding, angry tone, told him his mind.

P. I know not how you will answer it to my lord, but you have put him to a prodigious expense here, in keeping a garrison in the house all this while.

S. I am sorry for it, *padre* ; but what can I do ?

P. Do ! why compose your mind, and keep up your heart, and don't let my lord spend two or three hundred livres here to cure you of the vapours.

S. Why you said yourself, *padre*, that it was not to be wholly slighted.

P. That's true ; but I said also, I would not lay too great a stress upon it.

S. What must I do then ?

P. Do ! why dismiss the men again, and take what care you can ; and if you have any notice of mischief that may be depended upon, let me have notice too, and I'll assist you.

S. Well, then, the good angel must protect my lord's house, I see, for nobody else will.

Amen, says the *padre*, I trust the good spirits will keep you all : so he blessed the steward, (in his way,) and the steward went away grumbling very much that he took away his garrison and left him to the good spirits.

It seems, for all this, that the steward's notices, however secret, and from he knew not who, were not of so light an import as the *padre* thought they were ; for as he had this impulse upon his mind that such mischief was brewing, so it really was, as you will see presently.

A set of robbers, who had intelligence that the nobleman with his family was gone to Aix-la-Chapelle, but that the house was left furnished, and all the plate and the things of value were left in it, had formed a design to plunder the house, and afterwards to burn it, just as the steward had said.

They were two-and-twenty strong, in the whole, and thoroughly armed for mischief. Yet while the additional force, which the *padre* had placed to reinforce the steward, were in the house, of whom, including the other four, three sat up every night, they did not dare to attempt it.

But as soon as they heard that the guard was dismissed, they formed their design anew, and, to make the story short, they attacked the house about midnight. Having, I suppose, proper instruments about them, they soon broke open a window, and twelve of them got into the house, the rest standing centinel at such places as they thought proper, to prevent any succours from the town.

The poor steward and his three men were in great distress; they were indeed above stairs, and had barricadoed the staircases as well as they could, hearing the fellows were breaking in; but when they found they were got in, they expected nothing but to be kept above stairs till the house was plundered, and then to be burnt alive.

But it seems the good spirits the priest spoke of, or somebody else, made better provision for them, as you will see presently.

When the first of the fellows were gotten into the house, and had opened the door and let in as many of their gang as they thought fit, which, as above, was twelve in number, they shut the door again, and shut themselves in; leaving two without the door, who had a watch-word, to go and call more help if they wanted it.

The twelve ranging over the great hall, found little there to gratify their greedy hopes; but breaking next into a fine well-furnished parlour, where the family usually sat, behold, in a great easy chair sat a grave ancient man, with a long full-bottomed black wig, a rich brocaded gown, and a lawyer's laced band, but looking as if in great surprise, seemed to make signs to them for mercy, but said not a word, nor they much to him, except that one of them starting, cried, Ha! who's here?

Immediately the rogues fell to pulling down the fine damask curtains in the windows, and other rich things; but one said to another with an oath,

Make the old dog tell us where the plate is hid; and another said, If he won't tell you, cut his throat immediately.

The ancient gentleman, with signs of entreaty, as if begging for his life, and in a great fright, points to a door; which being opened would let them into another parlour, which was the gaming-room, and served as a drawing-room to the first parlour, and by another door opened into the great saloon, which looked into the gardens. They were some time forcing their way into that room; but when they came in, they were surprised to see the same old man, in the same dress, and the same chair, sitting at the upper end of the room, making the same gestures and silent entreaties as before.

They were not much concerned at first, but thought he had come in by another door, and began to swear at him for putting them to the trouble of breaking open the door when there was another way into the room. But another, wickeder than the first, said, with a heavy curse, the old dog was got in by another door on purpose to convey away the plate and money; and bade knock his brains out. Upon which the first swore at him, that if he did not immediately show them where it was, he was a dead dog that moment.

Upon this furious usage he points to the doors which opened into the saloon, which, being a thin pair of folding-doors, opened presently, and in they run into the great saloon; when looking at the further end of the room, there sat the ancient man again, in the same dress and posture as before.

Upon this sight, those that were foremost among them cried out aloud, Why this old fellow deals with the Devil, sure, he's here afore us again.

But the case differed a little now; for when they came out of the first parlour, being eager for the plate and money, and willing to find it all, the

whole body of them run into the second parlour; but now, the ancient man pointing to the third room, they did not all immediately rush out into the saloon, but four of them were left behind in the parlour or gaming-room mentioned just now, not by order or design, but accidentally.

By this means they fell into the following confusion; for while some of them called out from the saloon, that the old rogue was there before them again; others answered out of the parlour, How the devil can that be? why, he is here still in his chair, and all his rubbish: with that, two of them run back into the first parlour, and there they saw him again sitting as before. Notwithstanding all this, far from guessing what the occasion should be, they fancied they were gamed, or suggested that they were but jested with, and that there were three several old men all dressed up in the same habits for the very same occasion, and to mock them, as if to let them know that the men above in the house were not afraid of them.

Well, says one of the gang, I'll despatch one of the old rogues, I'll teach one of them how to make game at us: upon which, raising his fusee as high as his arm would let him, he struck at the ancient man, as he thought it was, with all his force; but behold! there was nothing in the chair, and his fusee flew into a thousand pieces, wounding his hand most grievously, and a piece of the barrel striking him on the head, broke his face, and knocked him down backward.

At the same time, one of those in the saloon running at the ancient man that sat there, swore he would tear his fine brocaded gown off, and then he would cut his throat: but when he went to take hold of him, there was nothing in the chair.

This happening in both rooms, they were all in

most horrible confusion, and cried out in both rooms at the same moment, in a terrible manner.

As they were in the utmost amazement at the thing, so after the first clamour they stood looking upon one another for some time, without speaking a word more; but at length one said, Let's go back into the first parlour and see if that's gone too; and with that word, two or three that were on that side, run into the room, and there sat the ancient figure as at first; upon which they called to the company, and told them, they believed they were all bewitched, and it was certain they only fancied they saw a man in the other rooms, for there was the real old man sitting where he was at first.

Upon this they all run thither, saying they would see whether it was the Devil or no; and one of them said, Let me come; I'll speak to him; 'tis not the first time I have talked with the Devil.

Nay, says another, so will I; and then added with an oath, gentlemen that were upon such business as they were, ought not to be afraid to speak to the Devil.

A third (for now their courage began to rise again) calls aloud, Let it be the Devil, or the Devil's grandmother, I'll parley with it, I am resolved I'll know what it is: and with that he runs forward before the rest, and crossing himself, says to the ancient man in the chair, in the name of St. Francis, and St. — (and so reckoned up two or three saints' names that he depended were enough to fright the Devil), What art thou?

The figure never moved or spoke; but looking at its face, they presently found, that instead of his pitiful looks, and seeming to beg for his life, as he did before, he was changed into the most horrible monster that ever was seen, and such as I cannot

describe; and that instead of his hands held up to them to cry for mercy, there were two large fiery daggers, not flaming, but redhot and pointed with a livid bluish flame, and, in a word, the Devil or something else in the most frightful shape that can be imagined. And it was my opinion, when I first read the story, the rogues were so frightened, that their imagination afterwards formed a thing in their thoughts more terrible than the Devil himself could appear in.

But be that as it will, his figure was such, that when they came up to him, not a man of them had courage to look in his face, much less talk to him; and he that was so bold, and thus came armed with half a regiment of saints in his mouth, fell down flat on the ground, having fainted away, as they call it, with the fright.

The steward and his three men were all this while above stairs, in the utmost concern at the danger they were in, and expecting every moment the rogues would strive to force their way up, and cut their throats; they heard the confused noise that the fellows made below, but could not imagine what it was, and much less the meaning of it: but while it lasted it came into the mind of one of the servants, that as it was certain the fellows were all in the parlour, and very busy there, whatever it was about, he might go up to the top of the house and throw one of their hand-grenadoes down the chimney, and perhaps it might do some execution among them.

The steward approved of this design, only with this addition; If we throw down but into one parlour, they will all fly into the gaming-room, and so it will do no execution; but, says he, take three, and put down one into each chimney, for the funnels go up all together, and then they will not know which way to run.

With these orders two of the men, who very well knew the place, went up, and firing the fusees of the grenadoes, they put one shell into each of the funnels, and down they went roaring in the chimney with a terrible noise, and (which was more than all the rest) they came down into the parlour where almost all the rogues were, just at the moment that the fellow that spoke to the spectre was frightened into a swooning fit, and fallen on the floor.

The whole gang was frightened beyond expression ; some run back into the gaming-parlour whence they came, and some run to the other door which they came in at from the hall ; but all, at the same instant, heard the Devil, as they thought it was, coming down the chimney.

Had it been possible that the fusees of the grenadoes could have continued burning in the funnel of the chimneys, where the sound was a thousand times doubled by the hollow of the place, and where the soot burning fell down in flakes of fire, the rogues had been frightened out of their understandings ; imagining, that as they had one dreadful devil just among them in the chair, so there were ten thousand more coming down the chimney to destroy them all ; and perhaps to carry them all away.

But that could not be ; so after they had been sufficiently scared with the noise, down came the shells into the rooms, all three together : it happened as luckily as if it had been contrived on purpose, that the shell which came down into the parlour where they all were, burst as soon as ever it came to the bottom, so that it did not give them time so much as to think what it might be, much less to know that it was really a hand-grenado ; but as it did great execution among them, so they as certainly believed it was the Devil, as they believed the spectre in the chair was the Devil.

The noise of the bursting of the shell was so sudden and so unexpected, that it confounded them, and the mischief was also terrible; the man that fainted and who lay on the ground was killed outright, and two more that stood just before the chimney; five of them were desperately wounded, whereof one had both his legs broke, and was so desperate, that when the people from the country came in, he shot himself through the head with his own pistol, to prevent his being taken.

Had the rest of them fled out of the parlour into the two other rooms, it is probable they had been wounded by the other shells; but as they heard the noise in both the outer rooms, and besides were under the surprise of its being not a hand-grenado, but the Devil, they had no power to stir; nor, if they had, could they know which way to go to be safe; so they stood still till both the shells in the other rooms burst also; at which being confounded, as well with the noise as with the smoke, and expecting more devils down the chimney where they stood, they run out all that way, and made to the door, helping their wounded men along as well as they could; whereof one died in the fields after they were got away.

It must be observed, when they were thus alarmed with they knew not what coming down the chimney, they cried out, that the Devil in the chair had sent for more devils to destroy them; and it was supposed that had the shells never come down, they would all have run away. But certain it was, that the artificial devil joining so critically as to time with the visionary devils, or whatever they were, completed their disorder, and forced them to fly.

When they came to the door to the two men, they made signals for their comrades, who were posted in the avenues to the house, to come to their

relief; who accordingly came up, and assisted to carry off their wounded men: but after hearing the relation of those that had been in the house, and calling a short council a little way from the door, (which, though dark as it was, the steward and his men could perceive from the window,) they all resolved to make off.

There was another concurring accident, which, though it does not relate to my subject, I must set down to complete the story, viz., that two of these grenadoes by the fire of their fusees set the chimneys on fire; the third being in a funnel that had no soot in it, the room having not been so much used, did not. This fire flaming out at the top, as is usual, was seen by somebody in the village, who run immediately, and alarmed the priest or *padre*, and he again raised the whole town, believing there was some mischief fallen out, and that the house was set on fire.

Had the rest of the gang not resolved to make off, as is said above, they had certainly fallen into the hands of the townsmen, who ran immediately with what arms came next to hand, to the house. But the rogues were fled, leaving, as above, three of their company dead in the house, and one in the field.

I must confess, I cannot draw many inferences to my purpose from the particulars of this story, which, however, I have told for your diversion; but from the general I may; namely, this apparition was certainly not in favour of the robbery; and if all the particulars are true in fact as related, we can hardly with justice place them to Satan's account: take him as a destroyer and a father of mischief, he could not be supposed to have appeared to prevent the robbing the house, or to assist the steward in the house, in defence of his master's goods: what good spirit this must be, and from whence, is then

a remaining question, and that brings it to my purpose again.

I shall give you another story out of more authentic records, though related in a different manner by several people, as their several interests inclined them.

James IV., king of Scotland, being persuaded by the clergy and the bishops, to break with England, and declare war against Henry VIII., contrary to the advice of his nobility and gentry, who were to bear both the expense and the blows of a battle; I say, the king, thus overruled by the clergy, raises an army, and prepared to march to the frontiers: but the evening before he was to take the field, as he was at vespers in the chapel royal at his palace of Lithgow, or Linlithgow, an ancient man appeared to him with a long head of hair of the colour of amber, (some accounts would represent it as a glory painted round a head by the limners,) and of a venerable aspect, having on a rustic dress, that is to say, in that country language, a belted plaid girded round with a linen sash. This man was, as it seems by the story, perceived by the king before he came close up to him, and before he was seen by any of the people; and the king also perceived him to be earnestly looking at him, and at the noble persons about him, as if desiring to speak to him.

After some little time he pressed through the crowd, and came close up to the king, and, without any bow or reverence made to his person, told him with a low voice, but such as the king could hear very distinctly, that he was sent to him to warn him not to proceed in the war which he had undertaken at the solicitation of the priests, and in favour of the French; and that if he did go on with it he should not prosper. He added also, that he should abstain from his lewd and unchristian practices

with wicked women, for that if he did not, it would issue in his destruction.

Having delivered his message he immediately vanished; for though his pressing up to the king had put the whole assembly in disorder, and that every one's eye was fixed upon him while he was delivering his message to the king, yet no one could see him any more, or perceive his going back from the king; which put them all into the utmost consternation.

The king himself also was in great confusion; he would fain have believed the spectre was a man, and would have spoken to it again, and would have asked some questions of him. But the people constantly and with one voice affirmed that it was an angel, and that it immediately disappeared after the message was delivered; that they plainly saw him and felt him thrusting to get by them as he went up, but not one could see him go back.

The king, upon this, was satisfied that it was not a real body, but an apparition; and it put him into a great consternation, and caused him to delay his march awhile, and call several councils of his nobility to consider what to do.

But the king being still over-persuaded by those engines who were employed by monsieur La Motte, the French ambassador, continued in his designs for a war, and advanced afterwards with his army to the Tweed, which was in those times the usual boundary of the two kingdoms.

Here the army rested some time, and the king being at Jedburgh, a known town in those parts, as he was sitting drinking wine very plentifully in a great hall of the house, where his head-quarters was then held, supposed to be the old earl of Morton's house in that town; the spectre came to him a second time, though not in the form which it appeared in at Lithgow; but with less regard or

respect to the prince, and in an imperious tone, told him he was commanded to warn him not to proceed in that war, which if he did, he should lose not the battle only, but his crown and kingdom: and that after this, without staying for any answer, like the hand to king Ahasuerus, it went to the chimney, and wrote in the stone over it, or that which we call the mantel-piece, the following distich,

*Læta sit illa dies, nescitur origo secundi,
Sit labor an requies, sic transit gloria mundi.*

That the king did not listen to either of these notices, our histories, as well as Buchanan the historian of Scotland, take notice of very publicly; and that he marched on, fought the English at Flodden field, and there lost his army, all his former glory, and his life, is also recorded; I need say no more of it.

These two apparitions were certainly from such spirits as we are speaking of, viz., such as mean well to mankind, and being good and beneficent in their nature, would prevent the ruin or destruction of those whom they appear to; but have not always power to direct the measures, or to oblige the persons to hearken to their advice.

Had it been a heavenly vision, 'tis more than probable it would have laid hold on the king's hand, as the apparition of angels did to Lot, and, as it were, dragged him away, and said, You shall not go forward, that you may not be defeated and slain, both you and your army.

Again, had it been the Devil, or an apparition from hell, the message would never have been for good; it would never have warned him to avoid the battle, which should be so fatal to him, and in which so much innocent blood should be shed to gratify the priests, who it was not doubted were bribed or

otherwise influenced by France, and by which the king should be sure to lose his life.

The Devil is too great a lover of mischief to concern himself in such an eminent manner for a public good; too great an enemy to mankind to take the trouble to caution the king twice, and send, as we may say, two expresses to him to save his life, and prevent a war; nor can we suppose the Devil concerned to promote peace in the world, but just the contrary; it is his business to foment distractions, public confusions, and war.

But should we suppose for once that the Devil, standing neuter between the two nations, should go so far out of his way as to endeavour to keep the peace for that time only; yet what shall we say to the other part of the message at Lithgow, viz., that he should abstain from his lewdness, and from his scandalous life, his familiarity with women, and the like? Did ever the Devil pretend to this in his life? If this could be the Devil, then he must be allowed to act very much out of his ordinary way, as some express it; 'tis not his professed, avowed practice.

What then must these appearances be, and from whence? And how reasonable is it, from all these things, to believe that there are some other spirits which we yet know nothing of, or but very little, who do so far concern themselves for the good of mankind, as that they frequently appear to us to warn us of danger, to alarm us at the approach of impending mischief; advising and cautioning us from evil courses, and evil actions, as what is destructive to our present as well as future felicity!

If it be objected, that some have owned themselves to be the souls of departed persons, as of near relations, wives, husbands, &c., and have appeared in their likeness, and even in their clothes; it is answered, That is no argument against the

thing at all; because as spirits are allowed in our present discourse to assume any shape, so it is not doubted but they may take up the shape of the dead as well as of the living, and may assume the very clothes, countenances, and even voices of dead persons; and it must be so, or else we must fall into all the absurdities of souls remaining in a wandering, unappointed, unsettled state after life; which, if it should be granted, we must in many things contradict the Scripture, and the received opinions of all the reformed churches, and almost of all good men even in all ages.

CHAP. VII.

Of the many strange inconveniences and ill consequences which would attend us in this world, if the souls of men and women, unembodied and departed, were at liberty to visit the earth, from whence they had been dismissed, and to concern themselves about human affairs, either such as had been their own, or that were belonging to other people.

I BELIEVE there are few speculative delusions more universally received than this, That those things we call spectres, ghosts, and apparitions, are really the departed souls of those persons whom they are said to represent.

We see, or pretend to see, our very friends and relations actually clothed with their old bodies, though we know those bodies to be embowelled, separated, and rotting in the grave; as certainly as the head and quarters of a man executed for treason are drying in the sun upon the gates of the city: we see them dressed up in the very clothes which we have cut to pieces and given away, some to one body, some to another, or applied to this or that use; so that we can give an account of every rag of them: we hear them speaking with the same voice and sound, though the organ which formed their former speech we are sure is perished and gone.

These similitudes of things fix it upon our thoughts, that it must be the same; that the souls of our late friends are actually come to revisit us;

which is to me, I confess, the most incongruous and unlikeliest thing in the world.

First, They must have a very mean opinion of the future state, and the exalted condition of the blessed, that can imagine they are to be interrupted in their joy; and even disquieted, as Samuel said to Saul, by the importunities of this world's affairs: *Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?* as if it was in the power of a despicable witch to bring him up, for it intimates a force, whether he would or not; which does not at all correspond with the high thoughts we are directed to entertain of the perfect felicity of that state, of which eye has not seen, or ear heard, or heart conceived.

Secondly, They must have likewise very mean thoughts of the state of everlasting misery, who can think that the spirits in prison can get loose from those determined chains, to come hither and attend upon the trifles of life; nor do I know whether it would be worth their shifting hell, and coming back to this world in the wandering condition those things called ghosts are understood to be; or indeed to re-assume a body, without making life a state of further probation. For what would life be here for a few years subjected to human infirmity, want, distress, and casualty, and no alteration possible of their future state, no hope, no room for changing the sentence? They know little of that hell called despair, that can think it more supportable in this world, than the eternal state, which it is a prospect of, is in that to come.

But this is too grave abundance for the times, and therefore I say no more of that part; but I must bring the case nearer to our present taste, as well as to our capacity.

Let us next inquire into the necessity of disturbing or disquieting our departed friends, with or about the concerns of their families: if their

coming is by the permission of Providence, then I demand what occasion is there for it: and of what service is it? seeing the same Providence is able to employ other servants of the same errand, and to do the same business, and who will not only do it as well, but to be sure much better. It is answered, the sovereignty of Providence is not to be disputed. He may do what he pleases, and employ whom he pleases: but then the wisdom of Providence too is not known to act inconsistent with itself; and, which is a sufficient answer to all the rest, we are allowed to judge of all these things by our reasoning powers, nor have we any other rules to judge by; and it can be no crime to reason with calmness, and with due respect to superior power, upon the ordinary administration even of Heaven itself.

I will suppose that no apparitions were allowed to show themselves on earth, but on occasions of some unusual consequence, and that then they might always be expected; and there are many affirm it to be so, though I openly say I do not; but suppose it, I say; and that whenever these things have appeared, it was in especial cases, such as of manifestly injured right, oppression of widows and orphans, wrong done to persons unable to do themselves justice, depressed poverty, and many such cases which souls are said to be anxious about, even after death; I say, if it were so, the world is at this time (and, perhaps, has always been) so full of violence, injustice, fraud and oppression, that the souls of our departed friends would hardly ever be at rest.

How many weeping widows, starving orphans and oppressed families have in our age suffered by the loss of the money which their fathers and other ancestors left for their subsistence and establishment in a certain city chamber, or put into a certain ex-

chequer upon the public faith ! According to this notion, neither the visible nor invisible world would have been at peace : the habited visible world would have been continually haunted with ghosts, and we should never have been quiet for the disturbance of spirits and apparitions : the invisible world would have been in a continued hurry and uneasiness ; spirits and unembodied souls asking leave to go back again to see their wills rightly performed, and to harass their executors for injuring their orphans ; and all the ages of time would have been taken up in giving satisfaction to them in such and such cases.

It was the saying of a Roman, (indeed, I mean, a Roman in religion,) that it was a sign to him, past all dispute, that the dead could never come to the quick, because the testators of all those charities given by departed souls of saints for the maintenance of hospitals, chantries, colleges, churches, and religious houses, as well in money as in lands and inheritances, did not walk, and haunt king Henry VIII., and pull him not out of his throne only, but out of his grave, for taking away as he did, all those rents and revenues, lands and estates, from the religious houses to which they belonged.

Now if they were not disquieted for so great a piece of injustice, why should they be forcibly disturbed for trifles, compared to those great events ?

Again, should departed souls get leave to come back to this world, to see justice done to their families and relations, how comes it to pass that they have not done it on such frequent occasions as are daily given them in the world ? And why do any people enjoy peaceably the estates which they got wrongfully ? The works of heaven are all perfect. Would he have sent angels or spirits to procure justice to be done only in part, and not in the

whole? And how much arrears is the wicked part of the world then in, to the better part? And which way is it possible right should now be done?

Besides, to go back to public things; what rage, what violences, rapines, ruins, not of persons but of nations, have we seen and heard of in the world! and yet we see death puts an end to all grievance, or complaints of grievance whatsoever; the departed souls rest undisturbed about it, resentment all dies with them; and whatever the apparitions, which we call souls, have pretended, or we have pretended for them, the souls themselves are perfectly unconcerned at it all.

What apparitions have been, have certainly been of those blessed angelic spirits, who may so far have concerned themselves in some cases of violence, oppression, manifest and atrocious frauds, to alarm the offenders, and thereby bring them to do right, as well for their own good as for the relief of the oppressed sufferers, who, perhaps, have invoked the Divine justice against them.

Hence give me leave to observe, though it is still a little serious, and perhaps you may think it is out of the way, that it is not a thing of the least concern to us to have the cry of the poor against us, or to have the widows and orphans, who we have injured and oppressed, look up to Heaven for relief against us, when they, perhaps, have not money to go to law, or to obtain or seek remedy against us in the ordinary way of justice. I had much rather have an unjust enemy draw his sword upon me, than an injured poor widow cry to heaven for justice against me; and I think I should have much more reason to be afraid of the last than the first, the effect is more likely to be fatal. Job xxxiv. 28. and Exod. xxii. 22, 23: *Ye shall not afflict any widow, or fatherless child. If thou afflict them in*

any wise, and they cry at all unto me, I will surely hear their cry: and ver. 24; And your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless. But this is a digression, and of a kind I shall not fall often into.

But as much as I think there is reason to apprehend the prayers of the oppressed widow and orphan, or of any injured fellow-creatures; yet I must acknowledge I see no reason to be afraid of their ghosts, or of their souls visiting me, in order to terrify me into a change of the evil practice, and a humour or resolve of doing right to their families.

Conscience, indeed, is a frightful apparition itself, and I make no question but it oftentimes haunts an oppressing criminal into restitution, and is a ghost to him sleeping or waking: nor is it the least testimony of an invisible world that there is such a drummer as that in the soul, that can beat an alarm when he pleases, and so loud, as no other noise can drown it, no music quiet it or make it hush, no power silence it, no mirth allay it, no bribe corrupt it.

Conscience raises many a devil, that all the magic in the world cannot lay; it shows us many an apparition that no other eyes can see, and sets spectres before us with which the Devil has no acquaintance; conscience makes ghosts walk, and departed souls appear, when the souls themselves know nothing of it.

This thing called conscience is a strange bold disturber, it works upon the imagination with an invincible force; like faith, it makes a man view things that are not, as if they were; feel things that are not to be felt, see things that are not to be seen, and hear things that are not to be heard; it commands the senses; nay, even the tongue itself, which is so little under command, submits to this sove-

reign mandate ; and though I do not see that conscience always overrules it to silence, yet it often makes it speak, even whether it would or no, and that to its own ruin and destruction ; making the guilty man accuse himself, and confess what his policy had before so effectually concealed, that no eye had seen it, no evidence could prove it.

The murderer sees the murdered innocent as plainly before his eyes as if he was actually sent back from his place to charge him ; nay, he sees him without eyes, he is present with him sleeping and waking ; he sees him when he is not to be seen, and testifies to his own guilt, with no need of other witness.

I have heard a story, which I believe to be true, of a certain man who was brought to the bar of justice on suspicion of murder, which, however, he knew it was not in the power of human knowledge to detect. When he came to hold up his hand at the bar, he pleaded Not guilty ; and the court began to be at a loss for a proof, nothing but suspicion and circumstances appearing ; however, such witnesses as they had they examined as usual, the witness standing up, as is usual, upon a little step, to be visible to the court.

When the court thought they had no more witnesses to examine, and the man in a few moments would have been acquitted, he gave a start at the bar as if he was frightened ; but recovering his courage a little, he stretches out his arm towards the place where the witnesses usually stood to give evidence upon trials, and pointing with his hand, My lord, says he aloud, that is not fair, 'tis not according to law, he's not a legal witness.

The court is surprised, and could not understand what the man meant ; but the judge, a man of more penetration, took the hint, and checking some of the court that offered to speak, and which would have

perhaps brought the man back again to himself, Hold, says the judge, the man sees something more than we do, I begin to understand him; and then speaking to the prisoner,

Why, says he, is not he a legal witness? I believe the court will allow his evidence to be good when he comes to speak.

No, my lord, it cannot be just, it can't be allowed, says the prisoner, with a confused eagerness in his countenance, that showed he had a bold heart, but a guilty conscience.

Why not, friend, what reason do you give for it? says the judge.

My lord, says he, no man can be allowed to be witness in his own case; he is a party, my lord, he can't be a witness.

But you mistake, says the judge, for you are indicted at the suit of the king, and the man may be a witness for the king, as in case of a robbery on the highway we always allow the person robbed is a good witness, and without this the highwayman could not be convicted; but we shall hear what he says when he is examined.

This the judge spoke with so much gravity, and so easy and natural, that the criminal at the bar answered, Nay, if you will allow him to be a good witness, then I am a dead man; the last words he said with a lower voice than the rest, but withal called for a chair to sit down.

The court ordered him a chair, which if he had not had, it was thought he would have sunk down at the bar; as he sat down he was observed to be in a great consternation, and lifted up his hands several times, repeating the words, A dead man, a dead man, several times over.

The judge, however, was at some loss how to act, and the whole court appeared to be in a strange consternation, though nobody saw anything but the

man at the bar ; at length the judge said to him, Look you, Mr. —, calling him by his name, you have but one way left that I know of, and I'll read it to you out of the Scripture ; and so, calling for a Bible, he turns to the book of Joshua, and reads the text, Josh. vii. 19 ; *And Joshua said unto Achan, my son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto him, and tell me now what thou hast done, hide it not from me.*

Here the judge exhorted him to confess his crime, for he saw, no doubt, an evidence ready to convict him, and to discover the whole matter against him, and if he did not confess, Heaven would, no doubt, send witness to detect him.

Upon this the self-condemned murderer burst out into tears and sad lamentations for his own miserable condition, and made a full confession of his crime ; and when he had done, gave the following account of his case, as to the reasons of his being under such a surprise, viz., that he saw the murdered person standing upon the step as a witness, ready to be examined against him, and ready to show his throat which was cut by the prisoner, and who, as he said, stood staring full upon him with a frightful countenance ; and this confounded him, as well it might : and yet there was no real apparition, no spectre, no ghost, or appearance ; it was all figured out to him by the power of his own guilt, and the agitations of his soul, fired and surprised by the influence of conscience.

The soul of the murdered person seeks no revenge ; all that part is swallowed up in the wonders of the eternal state, and vengeance entirely resigned to him to whom it belongs ; but the soul of the murderer is like the ocean in a tempest, he is in continual motion, restless and raging ; and the guilt of the fact, like the winds to the sea, lies on his mind as a constant pressure, and adds to that, (still like

the seas); it is hurried about by its own weight, rolling to and again, motion increasing motion, till it becomes a mere mass of horror and confusion.

In this distracted condition, conscience, like a storm at sea, still breaks over him; first gathers about him in a thick black cloud, threatening the deaths that it comes loaded with, and after hovering about him for awhile, at last bursts with lightnings and thunder, and the poor shattered vessel suffers shipwreck, sinks, and is overwhelmed in the middle of it.

If justice does not overtake him, if he is not discovered and detected, and brought to public shame, as the laws of God and man require, how is he put to the question, (so they call it in countries abroad, when men are put to the rack to make them confess,) how is he tortured with the terrors of his own thoughts, haunted with the ghosts of his own imagination, and apparitions without apparition! the murdered person is always in his sight, and cries of blood are ever in his ears; till at last, less able to bear the torture of mind than the punishment of his carcase, he even dies for fear of death, murders himself, and goes away in horror; or, if Heaven is merciful to him, delivers himself up to justice, and dies a penitent.

I could give many flagrant instances of this, enough to crowd up this whole work, but I have not room for it: take one or two for examples.

A gentleman, and a man in good circumstances too, committed a murder in or near St. Pancras, Soaper-lane, London, many years ago; the murder was attended with some very cruel and barbarous circumstances, such as he could not expect to be pardoned for; so he fled, and making his escape into France, got out of the reach of justice.

His personal safety was for awhile so much satisfaction to him, that he did not make any reflections

at all upon the fact; but after awhile he took shipping from France, and went over to Martinico, where he lived several years; and even for two or three years he carried it off well enough; but the first shock given to his soul was in a fit of sickness, when being in danger of death, he saw, as he was between sleeping and waking, the spectre, as he thought, of the murdered person, just as in the posture when he killed him, his wound bleeding, and his countenance ghastly; the sight of which exceedingly terrified him and at length awakened him.

But being awake, and finding it was but a dream, and that the murdered person did not really appear to him, and, as he called it, haunt him, he was easy as to that part; but being in a high fever, and believing he should die, conscience began to stare at him, and to talk to him; he resisted a long time, but death approaching, he grew very pensive, though, as he said, still more afraid of dying, than penitent for his crime.

After he recovered he grew easy, and began to forget things again; came over to Europe again, and being at Rouen in Normandy, he dreamed he saw the murdered man again, and that he looked frightful and terrible, and with a threatening aspect, and this threw him into a kind of melancholy, which increased exceedingly; the spectre, as he called it, coming to him every night.

But this was not all, for now, as he dreamed of it all night, so he thought of it all day; it was, as we say, before his eyes continually, his imagination formed figures to him, now of this kind, then of that, always relating to the murdered man; so that, in short, he could think of nothing else: and though he was satisfied there was no real ghost, as he called it, or apparition, yet his own terrified conscience made the thought be to him one continued

apparition, and the murdered man was never out of his sight.

He was so reduced by the constant agitation of his soul, that he was in a very weak condition, and in a deep consumption. But in the midst of these tumults of his soul, he had a strong impression upon his mind, that he could never die in peace, nor ever go to heaven, if he did not go over to England, and either get the parliament's pardon (for it was in those days when there was no king in Israel), or that if he could not obtain a pardon, that then he should surrender into the hands of justice, and satisfy the law with his life, which was the debt he owed to the blood of the man he killed, and could no other way be expiated.

He withstood this as a wild distracted thing, and the fruit of his disturbed mind : What, said he to himself, should I go to England for ? to go there is to go and die ; and these words, go and die, run daily upon his mind : but though they came first into his thoughts, as an answer to his other distractions, yet they turned upon him soon after, and he dreamed that the dead murdered man said to him, go and die ; and repeating it, said, go to England and die ; and this followed him by night and by day, asleep and awake, that he had it always in his ears, go to England and die.

In short, and to pass over some circumstances, though worth telling, which happened to him in the mean time, he was so continually terrified by the reproaches of his conscience, and the voice which he thought followed him, that he answered it once in his sleep thus ; Well, if it must be so, let me alone, I will go and die.

It was some time, however, before he did ; but at last, unable to support the torture of his mind, he resolved to come over to England, and did so : he

landed at Gravesend, and there took passage in the tilt-boat for London.

When he arrived at London, intending to land at Westminster, he took a wherry at Billingsgate, to carry him through bridge. It happened, that two lighters loaden with coals, run foul of the boat he was in, and of one another, over-against Queenhithe, or thereabouts; and the watermen were so very hard put to it, that they had much ado to avoid being crushed between the lighters, so that they were obliged to get into one of the lighters and let the boat sink.

This occasioned him, contrary to his design, to go on shore a little to the eastward of Queenhithe: from thence he walked up on foot towards Cheapside, intending to take a coach for Westminster.

As he passed a street which crosses out of Bread-street into Bow-lane, being almost night, and he not well knowing the streets, having been absent eighteen years, he heard somebody cry, Stop him, stop him! It seems a thief had broke into a house in some place, as he passed by, and was discovered, and run for it, and the people after him, crying stop him, stop him!

It presently occurred to him, that being so near the place where the murder was committed, and where he had lived, somebody that knew him had seen him, and that it was him they cried after; upon which he began to run with all his might.

Had the people cried stop thief, he had had no need to be alarmed, knowing, as he said, that he had stolen nothing; but the crowd crying only stop him, stop him, it was as likely to be him as not; and his own guilt concurring, he run, as above.

As he run with all his might, it was a good while before the people overtook him; but just at the corner of Soaper-lane, near about where now

stands the Rummer-tavern, his foot slipped, and his breath failing him too, he fell down.

The people, not knowing who he was, had lost their thief, and pursued him ; but when they came up to him, they found he was not the right person, and began to leave him ; but his own guilty conscience, which at first set him a running, and which alone was his real pursuer, continuing to follow him close, and which at last had thrown him down too, so increased his fright, that believing they all knew him, he cried out, It is very true, I am the man, it was I did it.

It seems, when he first fell, some people, who, upon hearing the noise in the street, came running to their doors, as is usual in such cases ; I say, some people, at the door of a house just against where he fell, said one to another, There he is, that's he, they have catched him ; and it was upon that saying that he answered, It is very true, I am the man, and I did it ; for still he imagined they knew him to be the murderer that killed the man so long ago ; whereas there was nobody there that had any knowledge of the matter, and the very memory of the thing was almost forgotten in the place, as it might well be, having been done eighteen years before.

However, when they heard him cry, I am the man, and I did it, one of the people that came about him said, What did you do ? Why, I killed him, says he, I killed Mr. ———, and then repeated his name ; but nobody remembered the name.

Why, you are mad, says one of the people ; and then, added another, the man's a distracted, disordered man : they pursued a little shoplifting thief, and here they have frightened a poor gentleman, that they own is not the person, but is an unhappy disordered man, and fancied they pursued after him.

But are you sure he is not the man?

Sure! says another, why, they tell you so themselves. Besides, the man is distracted.

Distracted! says a third, how do you know that?

Nay, says the other, he must be distracted, or in drink; don't you hear how he talks? I did it, I killed him, and I don't know what. Why, here's nobody killed, is there? I tell you the poor man is crazed. Thus they talked awhile, and some run forward towards Cheapside, to look for the real thief, and so they were about to let him go. But one grave citizen, and wiser than the rest, cried, Nay, hold, let's inquire a little further; though he's not the thief they look for, there may be something in it; let us go before my lord mayor with him: and so they did. I think the lord mayor then in being, was sir William Turner.

When he came before the lord mayor, he voluntarily confessed the fact, and was afterwards executed for it: and I had the substance of this relation from an ear-witness of the thing, so that I can freely say that I give entire credit to it.

It was remarkable also, that the place where this man fell down when he run, believing he was pursued and known, though at first he really was not, was just against the very door of the house where the person lived that he had murdered.

Many inferences might be drawn from this story, but that which is particularly to my purpose, is, to show how men's guilt crowds their imagination with sudden and surprising ideas of things; brings spectres and apparitions into their eyes, when there are really no such things; forms ghosts and phantasms in their very view, when their eyes are shut: they see sleeping, and dream walking; the night is all vision, and the day all apparition, till either by penitence or punishment, they make satisfaction for

the wrong they have done, and either justice or the injured person are appeased.

But to bring all this back to our business : here's no other apparition in all this, than what is formed in the imagination ; the ghosts, the souls of the most injured person, whether injuriously murdered, or injuriously robbed and plundered, sleeps in peace, knows nothing of the murderer or thief, except only that it gives that part all up to the eternal judge : the murderer has the horror of the fact always upon him, conscience draws the picture of the crime in apparition just before him, and the reflection, not the injured soul, is the spectre that haunts him : nor can he need a worse tormentor in this life ; whether there is a worse hereafter, or no, I do not pretend to determine. This is certainly a worm that never dies ; it is always gnawing the vitals, not of the body, but of the very soul.— But I say, here was no apparition all this while of any kind, no spectre, no ghost, no, not to detect a murderer.

1. No devil or evil spirit ; as for Satan, he would rather protect, or at least shelter him, that he might commit another murder.

2. No soul of the deceased, however injured ; the man acknowledged he never saw any real apparition.

What was it then the man was exercised with ? I answer, he was harassed by the reflection of his own guilt, and the sluices of the soul were set open by the angels or spirits attending, and who, by divine appointment, are always at hand to execute the vindictive part of justice, as well as the more merciful dispensations of heaven, when they have them in commission.

These abandoned him to the fury of an enraged conscience, opened the sluices of the soul, as I call them, and poured in a flood of unsufferable grief,

letting loose those wild beasts called passions upon him, such as rage, anguish, self-reproach, too late repentance, and final desperation, all to fall upon him at once ; so the man runs to death for relief, though it be to the gallows, or anywhere, and that even by the mere consequence of things.

But if then oppression, injury, robbery, and even murder itself, will not bring the departed injured soul back in ghost or apparition ; if when it is once uncased, dismissed, or unembodied, its state is determined, and that it can receive no such impressions as to be disquieted afterwards, much less brought back hither to haunt or perplex the persons left behind, what then shall we say ?

How then can we think they should come back for trifles, nameless trifles, or trifles not worth naming ? and what are we to call those real apparitions which we have reason to believe are, and frequently have been seen in the world ? what are they, nay, what can they be, but these angels or spirits, call them what you will, who inhabit, or have their station in the great void or waste ? who have the guard, not of our atmosphere only, nay, not of the solar system only, though that is of immense and inconceivable extent, and full of distant planetary worlds, but even of the whole system of the creation, the system of empty space.

These may, and no doubt do visit us every day, whether they are visible to us or no ; their business is among us, they are posted in their station as described, on purpose to take cognizance of us, and of things belonging to us, and done by us.

If murder, rapine, and oppression is exercised upon any, these frequently, if not always, concern themselves, either to detect it, or to bring the offender to justice, or both, especially in cases of blood : and this is the best way we can account for

the discovery of murder, which is so general, that it is our received opinion, that murder very seldom goes undiscovered; that murder will out, that is, will come out to be known and punished.

If instead of saying murder very seldom goes undiscovered, they had said seldom goes unpunished, I believe it might have been universally true; for sometimes secret murders are never discovered to the persons who knew of the fact, or in the place where it was committed: but how are they pursued by the divine vengeance, that is to say, under the ministry of these happy instruments, who fail not to pursue the murderer! perhaps it may be the only case wherein they are agents of justice, without a mixture of mercy.

How many secret, and till then undiscovered murders do these happy instruments oblige the guilty wretches to discover, which no human eye had been witness to! Some are discovered as in the example above, and brought to punishment: some at the gallows, whither the criminal is brought for other crimes; some upon sick beds, and in view of eternal judgment; some in shipwrecks, some in battles, some one way, some another.

Nor can it be denied, that though these angelic ministering spirits were to be constant messengers of justice in such cases, yet it would be much more merciful than to give the soul of the injured murdered person leave to come back armed with power, and with the terrors of its invisible state, to do itself justice, inflamed with the resentments which it might be reasonable to suppose it must have at the injury received, able to tear the murderer in pieces, and in condition to carry on its own quarrel, and execute the divine justice, in revenge of its private quarrel.

1. This would be inconsistent with the supreme prerogative of Heaven, by which he has taken all

executive justice into his own hand, all retribution, all retaliating justice; and that on purpose to restrain the rage and fury of men, who would be unbounded in the vindictive part, and set no limits to their vengeance; which for that very reason, I say, God has declared he takes into his own hand; *Vengeance is mine, I will repay.* Rom. xii. 19.

2. If it were not thus, the world would be a field of blood and confusion, the departed soul of a murdered person would be always harassing, not the murderer only, but all the persons concerned in his injury; and without mercy would call every one a murderer, that was on the side of his enemy, whether guilty or not; in a word, suppose he died fighting, he would come back to revenge his own death, fired with a double rage, and armed with an irresistible ability to revenge.

But not to confine myself to the case of a murderer only; if souls after death could return to visit those who they had any concerns with here, let the occasion be what it would, the world would be all confusion and disorder; quarrels and contentions would never cease, feuds of families would not die, but the injured person would always come back to right himself.

And how do we know that they would, even in that enlightened state of being, be impartially just, considering they would act in their own causes? are we sure they would not insist upon pretended right, as they did perhaps when living? if so, then we must have appeals even from the spirits themselves; for they would be as liable to do injury in their revenge, as those yet living had been to do them.

Here we might make a rational excursion upon the present state of things: what would be the case, if all the injured souls now in a determined state, were able to come back, and demand justice of the present age? what work would it make among us! how many wealthy landlords would be turned out of

possession, and rich tradesmen obliged to refund! how would the strong oppressor be challenged by the weak, the injured poor be the ruin of the rich! how many adulterers would be bound to dislodge from the arms of the fair intruder! how many injured ladies would claim their properties, and turn the usurpers out of bed!

How would young —— be called upon to do right to a whole family, whose tears for the marrying one sister, and debauching the other, have hitherto been in vain! how would the civil rape be discovered, and the artifices be detected, which broke two hearts, for want of doing right to one!

How long ago would the soul of —— have appeared to do herself justice, which a wheedled C ——, a bribed ——, and a sleepy —— denied her; and to demand the sentence, which the plain acknowledgment of her murderers could not extort from them!

How would she have haunted the retirement of the guilty wretch, and have beaten him out of all his subterfuges, till he had come upon his knees to the hangman, and begged to be dismissed from a hell so much worse than that he had reason to expect he was going to! or have been his own drudge, and have anticipated justice by an immediate despatch!

But they have been left to the iron hands of yet slumbering justice; which conscience (however it may at present forbear) must soon tell them, will be not the less certain for the delay.

But let us leave the mechanic criminals, and inquire of the superior ranks of men: how many usurping tyrants possess the thrones of oppressed, and perhaps murdered princes; while the blood of armies, nay, of whole nations (speaking as to number) has been sacrificed to support the ambition of one man!

What mercy to mankind has the supreme lord

exhibited, in this wise allotment of things! viz. that the grave buries all the rage of human resentment: the oppressed and the oppressor rest together; the murderer and the murdered; the most inveterate enemies; the conquered in battle, and the slain of the conquering army, make one heap of quiet and peaceable dust, blended together, and mouldering into the common element of earth.

All the animosity, being fled with the enraged souls, carries with it the very remains of the quarrel, and they no more appear enemies, but freely incorporate their dust with one another. The late D. Ha ——— n, might have been buried in the same grave, nay, in the same coffin, with the lord Mo ——— n; and their swords left in their hands; the souls of the noble enemies would never have concerned themselves again with the quarrel.

Heaven, who thought fit to cool the rage of their minds, by their own unhappy hands, and make them reciprocally the executioners of the divine pleasure upon themselves, has thought fit also to take from both the power of determining any more who was right and who was wrong, and obliged them mutually to refer the further inquiry to himself.

The two Danish soldiers who fought at Beverley, one killed upon the spot, and the other immediately shot to death for fighting, and buried together; there they lie quiet in one grave, the souls of them never visit one another, to complain of the injury.

Could souls departed come back to demand redress of grievances, and to put men in mind of the injustice done them; could they challenge the living possessors of their estates for the frauds by which they were obtained; what confusion would Exchange-alley and the Exchange of London be in! what distraction would it make in all the affairs of life! and how soon would the men who amassed immense wealth, anno 1720, disappear like W ———

of Hack ——, and sink under the guilt of their good fortune!

In a word, it would invert the order of eternal justice, for it would make this earth be the place of rewards and punishments, and take the executive power out of the hands of the great governor of the world.

Depend then upon it, the souls of our departed friends, or enemies, are all in their fixed and determined state; whether arrived at a full consummation of felicity or misery, that is not the case, nor is it any part of the question; but they are so removed from all possibility of return hither, or concern with us, that the very suggestion, however it has for many ages prevailed in the world, is full of absurdity. The joys of the happy are so complete, so exalted, so superior, that the greatest affairs of this world are too trifling to take up the least moment, or give the least interruption to their felicity; as a poor or mean man, that having a vast estate left him in his immediate possession, quits his decayed out-of-repair cottage upon the waste, and having his hands full of gold, or even bags of gold, scorns to take up the rags and rubbish of his old dirty habitation; but says to his servants, let any one take them that will, I have enough here.

On the other hand, the rejected and condemned soul, loaded with his own crime, and sinking under the weight of inexpressible horror; shall he have any thought about the hated world he came out of! he who abhors and hates the place where he spent a long life of such crime, as now loads him with insupportable punishment, is he at leisure, or in composure for concerning himself in life any more, where he has already so miserably ruined himself, soul and body!

If he was to come back hither for anything, it would probably be to take the heaps of his ill-gotten

treasure from the unjust possessor, his heir, and making restitution with it to the poor, whom he had oppressed, to the widows he had robbed, and in general to all those he had injured, leave his family in poverty and rags, instead of their robes and velvet : and in hospitals and almshouses, rather than palaces and parks, and with coaches or horses. Proving the proverb untrue, and showing that the son may not be always happy, though the father be gone to the Devil.

I doubt it would make but sad work among some families, who now possess large estates, if the notion some people entertain about spirits, and about haunting of houses, should be true ; namely, that the souls departed could not be at rest till satisfaction was made in such and such cases, where injury had been done to orphans and widows ; and till such injustice was prevented as was further like to be done by their means.

As to what rest the souls of those departed would have, I am not to resolve ; but I doubt the souls and bodies too of those that remain, would have small rest here, if that were true.

Is it not rather a proof that the soul cannot return hither, to do right to the injured race of those whom it had oppressed with violence when embodied, that the ghost or soul of ——— sleeps in its absent state, and does not call upon his too happy heir, and charge him to make reparation in its name, for all the ravages and plunder out of which he raised those millions he left behind ? If usury, extortion, perjury, and blood, are injuries that disquiet the souls unembodied, how is it that the souls of all the families, and even nations of families oppressed and ruined by the late ——— do not come and do themselves right out of the immense wealth, left in possession to those, who, till that justice be obtained, could have no claim to it ?

But to let the injured and the injurious sleep together, as they do, without disturbing or being disturbed by one another, let us ask a few questions of the living. How would a certain wandering right honourable, most simply elevated object of human pity, be terrified at the apprehensions of meeting the dishonoured souls of his ancestors! and particularly of his pious grandfather, who would, if it were possible, chastise him for his lunacy, and drive him home to the feet of a merciful sovereign, to ask pardon for the most preposterous things that ever human rage drove any man in his senses to be guilty of!

If the souls of wise men could be disquieted for the mad things done by their posterity, what regret must the ancestors of all the exiled heirs of noble blood now have, who see their sons forfeiting the plentiful fortunes they left them, by the most ridiculous and utterly improbable scheme of the late Preston and Dunblain affair! an attempt without success, because without rational prospect, without human probability; and for which, as the late unhappy lord Derwentwater said, they should not have been sent to the Tower, but to Bedlam.

If souls could return, how should our friends the A——s and B——s and S——s sleep in their beds, while they enjoy the ruins of so many families, and the fortunes of so many sufferers, who hanged themselves in desperation for their loss? and why do they not see apparitions every night from the injured ghosts of —— L —— Ba—— W—— Hu—— and a thousand more; who, could they repass the gulf, would certainly harass them till they should be glad to dismiss themselves the same way, and run to that hell which they know nothing of, from that hell of self-reproach, which they would be no longer able to endure?

I could descend to particulars, till I filled a roll

too long for your reading ; and I know not whether it might not be true, as sir W—— B——d said in another case, that he believed all would come up that was under ground, and his grandfather would come with the rest and call for his estate again.

The doctrine of disquiet souls returning hither, to do or obtain justice, to make or demand restitution, and that they could not be at rest till such and such things were settled, wills performed, dispossessed heirs righted, concealed treasons discovered, concealed treasures found out, and the like, were it true, would make the world uninhabitable : ghosts and apparitions would walk the streets at noon-day ; and the living might go on one side of the street, and the dead on the other ; the latter would be infinitely more numerous.

Nothing can be more preposterous than such a notion. It is true, that the examples given or pretended to be given of it, are but few, and that very part is against them ; for if the thing is real, why are they but few ? It must be acknowledged, as the times go, the cases of the injured and oppressed are not few : on the contrary, as God said of the old world, *the whole earth is filled with violence*. Whence is it then, if injured souls, or the souls of injured, oppressed, ruined people could return, that there are not millions haunting the doors, nay, the closets and bed-chambers, of those that enjoy the wealth which was so unjustly obtained ?

If it could be at all, the number would be infinitely more ; for why should one guilty soul be uneasy, and not another ? All the guilty would come back to make restitution as far as they were able, and all the sufferers would come back to obtain it.

Again, the condition of those that enjoy the ill-gotten wealth of their ancestors would be deplorable : the souls of guilty parents would harass their

sons for the estate, to make restitution; and the souls of the oppressed sufferers would haunt them, to get their own restored: so that they only would be easy in the world, who had nothing to restore, or who enjoyed nothing but what was of their own getting; they only would sleep at night who had balanced with the day, who had earned what they eat, and had eaten no more than they earned.

But this we see is not the case: that the souls of the most guilty remain where they are, and the souls of the most oppressed do not come hither to complain, strongly implies, and is to me a sufficient proof, that their state is determined; that the gulf is fixed; that they can only look back with self-reproach, but cannot come back to give themselves the satisfaction of doing justice to those they have injured; that the murdered person cannot come back, no, not to detect the murderer; or the plundered traveller to discover the highwayman. It is plain to me, and will pass for evidence, that they cannot, because they do not; and it is plain to me that some do not, because all do not; for if any, why not all?

It does not consist with the enlightened justice of that state which we believe is beyond life, to let one injured soul come hither to obtain justice against the oppressor of his family, and not let another have the same liberty; or to let one injurious soul return to make restitution, and make his peace, that he may be at rest, as they call it, and lock up another from it, who would be equally willing to do it, and is equally miserable in the want of it.

That it is not so, is a sufficient testimony to me that it cannot be so, and the miserable condition the world would be in here, if it were so, makes it clear to me that the wisdom of Providence has otherwise determined it.

Nor would the advantage be anything considerable,

at least not in proportion to the disorder it would bring along with it; and were we to allow the possibility, it would bring in so many absurdities with it in points of religion, that it would destroy the established doctrines of all religion: for example,

First, We believe that the final estate of the soul is determined with life, and as the tree falls so it must lie; that this is the state of trial, that the state of retribution: if so then, to what purpose should the souls of the dead desire to come back, unless they were to have a further probation, or that there was a possibility of retrieving their state, and recovering from the sentence they were under? and if the divine wisdom had left room for that, it would have as well spared them in life till it had been done.

Secondly, To what purpose should the soul come back to do justice, if doing that justice could make no alteration of its future state? If it could make any alteration, then, there must be room after death to recover the soul from eternal death; and if there was, the eyes may be supposed to be so opened there, that none would omit or neglect it.

Thirdly, If coming hither or doing justice here, can be no help to the souls departed, and yet they desire it, you must then suppose a strong desire of doing disinterested good may possess the souls of those who are in a state of condemnation; which is inconsistent with the other circumstances of hell, which we have just reason to believe shuts out all good desires, and all good principles, from the souls that are there.

Fourthly, The supposition of souls being in a condition after death to return hither, destroys all the descriptions which the Scripture gives us of the future condition, either of the good or bad souls: but that I hinted before.

Upon the whole, 'tis a notion, however it may

have been received here, perfectly inconsistent with either reason or revealed religion ; and I may venture to say it cannot be, 'tis impossible, and that all the pretences of a ghost or apparition saying it is such a person, and that it cannot be at rest till so and so be done, and that now it shall go to God, must be a delusion, and must be added by the persons relating the story ; for that no ghost or spirit really happy could say so, or would impose so much upon us.

CHAP. VIII.

The reality of apparition further asserted ; and what spirits they are that do really appear.

THE affirming, as in the foregoing chapters, that the unembodied souls of men do not appear again, or concern themselves in the affairs of life ; that the good would not if they could, and the bad could not if they would ; does not at all destroy the reality of the thing called apparition, or do I pretend to argue from thence that there is no such thing as any apparition at all : on the contrary, I insist it is reasonable to believe (notwithstanding all that has been said) that there are such things as the apparition of spirits ; and this I think I have already proved past the power of any scruple or cavil, as also that there have been such things in all ages of the world.

The doctrine of the existence of spirits is established in nature ; where those spirits reside, is matter of difficulty, and our speculations are various about them ; but to argue that therefore there are none, that they exist not, that there are no such beings, is absurd, and contrary to the nature of the thing ; we may as well argue against the existence of the sun when it is clouded and eclipsed, though we see its light, only because we cannot see its beams, or the globe of its body ; but let us go back to the principle.

Spirit, as it is to be considered here, is to be reduced to four general heads.

First, The author of all spirit, the fountain of all being, the original cause of life, and the creator both of spirit and of all the subsequents of it. This we

justly adore, as the Infinite Eternal Spirit: *God is a spirit.*

Secondly, Angels or good spirits ; which are real spirits ; we have demonstration of it, and they have and do appear daily, as the great Author of all spirits directs, for the service of mankind, for they are *ministering spirits.*

Thirdly, Devils or evil spirits ; these are really spirit too, of a spirituous nature ; 'tis true they are deprived of their beauty, their original glory, because deprived of their innocence ; they are deformed as well as defiled by crime, but they are not deprived of their nature ; they are spirits still, though cast down and cast out, and are called *wicked spirits.*

Fourthly, Souls of men, whether good or bad ; their condition may be as you please to speak of it, happy or unhappy ; the case is the same, it does no way alter their nature, but still they are spirits. *The spirits of just men made perfect ;* there's the happy spirits : *the spirits in prison,* and there's the unhappy ; but both are spirits, and are to be discoursed of as such in this place.

Now let us bring all this down to our present purpose. I have asserted their being, let me inquire into their state, as it respects our subject ; how far they may or may not, can or cannot appear among men, in their present circumstances. How they have visited this earth at several times, and on what occasions, have been mentioned already, and as much at large as the designed brevity of this work admits of.

It remains to inquire what we have to expect of them for the future, and in particular, who we may expect to see at any time hereafter ; which of them may visit us for the time to come, and which may not, or cannot be reasonably expected ; and this I

shall do with the same clearness, if possible, and in very few words.

Of the four kinds of spirit, then, let us consider the first and the last.

First; God, the soul and life, the being of all spirit, has appeared, as I have said; but we are to expect him no more: I do not say he cannot appear to us, but I believe I may say he has determined to bless the world with no more such glorious exhibitions, no more personal appearances of the eternal face, till the most glorious appearance spoken of in Scripture, Tit. ii. 13, *Looking for the blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God.*

Secondly; the dismissed, departed, unembodied spirits, which we call souls of men, whether happy or miserable, can by no means appear among us; all apparition of that kind is fictitious and imaginary; never was practicable, except once by miracle, and never can again be practicable, and therefore is not to be expected. We are told, indeed, that once, on the extraordinary occasion of the resurrection of Christ, and to honour that resurrection with a miracle of the most sublime nature, *the graves were opened, and the bodies of the saints arose and appeared, &c.* The word is, they *arose*, and came out of their graves after his resurrection, Matt. xxvii. 53. I might enlarge upon the nature of this apparition of the saints which slept, the manner of it, and especially the reason of it, and show you how it was really miraculous, and done to convince the doubting disciples of the truth of the resurrection, which some of them, being perhaps originally Sadducees, might still question; but my business is with an age not too much delighted in serious excursions, so I must not make any trespass, however seasonable, or turn grave, however useful.

Let it then be sufficient to the purpose, this ap-

parition of souls was extraordinary and miraculous, and we are to expect them no more; their state is determined, the happy are too happy, and their happiness too firmly fixed, to suffer any such interruption; the unhappy have their confinement too firmly fixed to break prison and get out; in a word, these cannot, and the other would not if they could; and we are not to expect to see or hear from them any more on this earth, till the restitution of all things, and till they shall be all summoned to that grand appearance which we believe will one day happen, whatever our flaming age pretend to say to the contrary.

All apparition, then, of these two heads or species being concluded impossible in nature, and not to be expected, we must look for it then among the angelic spirits; and here indeed it is to be found: angels of all the kinds have appeared, may, and do appear, and of them alone are all the apparitions, which have any reality in them, formed.

This is bringing the matter into a narrow compass, and putting an end to cavil and quarrel about it, there is no need to wrangle upon it any more; but when you at any time see an apparition, or appearance of spirit assuming shape and voice, and you are sure it is really an apparition, not a *deceptio visus*, a cloud, a vapour of the imagination; I say, whenever you see such an apparition, depend upon it it is an angel or a devil.

I have only one distinction to make here, which, though it be necessary, shall be very short and clear, viz. that when I speak of angels I must be understood as follows:—

First; the word angel is to be understood of good angels; for the devils, as I have said, are also angels: Satan is called an angel of light; but the evil angels I shall always treat with their new surname,

devil ; so that when I speak of angels I am always to be understood of the good angels.

Secondly ; but of good angels, these I distinguish also into two kinds :

1. The angels which are actually in heaven, such as we read of, Gabriel, Michael, and others not distinguished by name ; these have appeared amongst men, upon this earth, as I have also said before at large ; but even these, we have reason to believe, we shall see no more, God having pleased to discover himself to his people now in another way, by another ministration, namely, by his spirit, and by an evangelic, not an angelic ministry.

2. That rank of angels or spirits, call them as you please, (and whether inferior or not, we are not to determine,) who are placed by the direction of God himself in a nearer situation to us ; placed, I say, by their Maker, under his superior providence, for the direction and conduct of human creatures and of their affairs, or at least to guard them from the invasions, threatening, and hellish designs of the prince of darkness and his angels ; and these, as I said, might well be called guardian angels to the whole earth.

Now these two sorts of spirit, viz., the guardian angels, the good spirits detached, as I may and did call it, from heaven, to have the inspection over, and care of his new creation, as well here as elsewhere ; these, and the devils, that other sort of angels, of whom I may have occasion to speak (more than a great deal) in this work ; these, I say, may and do appear, and all apparition is really between them ; all spirit you can speak of, or pretend to see the appearance of, must be one of these two, must be angel or devil, there is no other, there can be no other : miracle, and something more than miraculous. and things which we have no reason to look for, only excepted.

But, on the other hand, as certain as that no other spirit does, or can, and as certainly as they do not, or cannot appear, so as certain and past dispute is it, that these spirits, both good and bad, do appear to us upon all occasions ; I mean all occasions which they judge needful, and which happens to them, whether by choice or constraint. It is not, indeed, in us to determine how they are moved to go upon these errands, or in what manner ; I may perhaps give some probable opinions about the manner and causes both of their mission and permission ; for I take those two heads to contain the regulation of their actings ; I say commission and permission, and without these we are sure never to be visited in this manner, either by one or by the other.

It is true that this gives a considerable sanction to the thing called apparition in general, and makes it appear to be more solemn than we are willing to make it, for by this rule neither devil nor angel appears but upon some extraordinary occasion ; and if it be so, I do not see why we should like it the worse ; for if they were to show themselves upon every trifling occasion, they would either terrify mankind so as to make the world intolerable to him, or familiarize themselves so as not to be regarded.

Now as it would be the Devil, not the good spirits, that would thus haunt the world upon trifles, for the other cannot be supposed to do it, so they would carry on the familiarity too far, and men would be so far from being frightened and terrified at him, that, in short, there would be more danger in the intimacy, and, as we say in another case, mankind and the Devil might be too well acquainted.

But first to the fact, that these spirits, both good and bad, do thus appear ; and then to the reason of it. That they do appear, the history, experience,

and report of all ages confirm it ; they always have, and still do. The appearances of spirits are confirmed many ways, history is full of examples ; and sacred history itself, though it does not give relation of particular apparitions, yet confirms the thing, as a reality, and out of question.

Christ himself, after his resurrection, seeing his disciples frightened and terrified at his appearance, takes a great deal of pains to convince them that he was not a spirit, or an apparition, as they feared : Luke xxiv. 37. *They were terrified and affrighted, and supposed that they had seen a spirit.* This would be what it is too dishonourable to say of the sacred writ, if apparition of spirit in the shape of body did never come, and that there were no such thing in nature.

See then what our blessed Lord says to them upon it, ver. 39 : *Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself : handle me, and see : for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have.* This is as direct and positive as anything of its kind can be supposed, or desired to be. If there were no such things as spirits appearing, how could Jesus Christ have expressed himself in such a manner ? The language is plain ; You think you see a spirit, that is, an apparition, and you may have some reasons for your apprehension, because I came in thus unseen, when the door was shut : now a spirit may indeed assume a shape, and look like the person it appears for ; but if you were to come near to it, you would find a spirit, an apparition, has only the appearance, *it has not flesh and bones, as you see me have* : therefore I am not a spectre or apparition, but a real body.

So when he came walking upon the sea to his disciples, and they were so frightened that they cried out, believing that they had seen a spirit ; it must be out of question that there were such things, and

that they, the disciples, had heard of them; nay, perhaps, they had seen such apparitions themselves before that; why else should they be so frightened as to cry out, Matth. xiv. 26: *And when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, It is a spirit; and they cried out for fear.* And why, when our Saviour spoke to them, did he not reprove them for being frightened at their own imagination, and fancy, (like children,) that they saw a spirit, when there were no such things in the world, and no apparitions to be seen?

On the other hand, he speaks kindly to them, knowing that apparitions are frightful things to people not used to see them, and bids them *be of good cheer*, it is not a spirit, *it is I*; *be not afraid*; it is no apparition, but myself in reality. So also you have the story, Mark vi. 50.

Again, you have a perfect description of an apparition in the very manner we are just now discoursing about it, Job iv. 15, 16: *Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up: It stood still, but I could not discern the form thereof: an image was before mine eyes; there was silence, and I heard a voice.* Eliphaz was a man of sense, he was not deluded to speak of things not in being; he saw an apparition, not a fancy.

Again, Joshua saw an apparition, as I mentioned once before, Josh. v. 13: *A man with a drawn sword in his hand.* This was an angel, that is to say, a spirit, and yet it spoke to him, and had the shape of a man in arms, with a sword in his hand. Had Joshua offered to touch it, or been permitted to touch it, he would not have found it had flesh and bones; we have our Saviour's words for it, a spirit has not flesh and bones; an apparition is a spirit assuming a shape of flesh and blood, but without the reality.

And this answers all those fanciful people who say to us that they saw such or such a person : I saw him, says the ignorant, frightened visionist, perfectly ; I know him well enough ! I am sure it was him ! I saw him plainly ! Hence they conclude it must be the soul of such a person, because, say they, it had his very countenance and his clothes on : nay, riding on the same horse as he used to ride on : when the truth of the case is this, the man is dead, his body rotting in the grave, his soul carried into the remote regions of eternal felicity or horror unalterable, and that immoveable, as to returning this way : his clothes that were seen, are lying in the chest, or the press, where they usually lay, and the poor horse grazing in the field, or perhaps quiet in the stable, and not at all disturbed. All that is to be said, the good angel that perhaps had some secret commission to the relict or remains of the man's family ; to give them notice of some evil, to warn, to admonish, &c., assumes the shape and appearance of the man himself, clothes himself in his likeness, forms the apparition in air, of his clothes, his countenance, his horse, as a painter clothes the cloth he paints on with faces, postures, habits, garments, all in colours, while the passive person represented is no way affected with, or concerned in the draught representing him.

And why should not this spirit, thus commissioned to go on such an errand, be able to amuse us with the appearance of a person departed : taking up his shape, countenance, clothes, &c., though the soul of the person is not affected with, or concerned in it ? when it is known that we often see apparitions of persons living, whom we see and speak to, and converse with ; know their faces, their voices, their clothes ; and yet the persons themselves know nothing of the matter.

I have by me a very diverting history upon this subject, which I shall abridge for the present purpose, as follows, viz.,

A certain young lady of ———, born in the county of ———, had been long courted by a young gentleman, whose father had a very good estate in the same town: she had kept him company, too, openly, but had not yielded to his importunities for a criminal conversation, though her reputation suffered for it as if she had; but at length she was so far over-persuaded, that she made an appointment to be at such a time at a farmer's house, a tenant of his father's, and who was, it seems, let into the wicked secret. Accordingly she dresses herself up with the best of her art, to recommend herself (to the Devil, I may say;) and away she goes to meet him, having her servant-maid to attend her, because it was over some fields that she was to go.

When she was near the house she finds some excuse or errand to send back her maid to the town; the wench, it seems, not being privy to the business.

As she turns about to dismiss her maid, the maid offered to go further till she was nearer the house; but her mistress sees the minister of the town coming along the path, and making that the excuse, O, says she, there's our minister Dr. ——— coming, so I shall have his company; you may go back, Mary, I shall be safe enough.

The maid sees the minister also, and goes back accordingly.

As soon as the minister came up to her, for he seemed to overtake her presently, he gives her the usual compliment, and asks her how she came to be in the fields alone.

She answered she had not been alone, but having occasion to send back her maid, she dismissed her

the sooner because she saw him coming ; and besides, says she, I am going but to that house there, naming the farmer's name.

O, madam, says the doctor, are you going thither ? then I know your errand.

She was surprised and blushed ; but recovering a little, What errand, sir ? says she.

Why, madam, says he, it may not be proper for me to name the business ; but you know it well enough.

What d'ye mean, sir ? says she ; I don't understand you.

Why, says he, your favourite, the young squire, is there before you.

She was terribly surprised then, and could hardly speak to him, being touched with shame and indignation, supposing the young gentleman had boasted of her favours before he had received them, and had betrayed her ; however, she made still strange of it ; and having, it may be supposed, conquered her modesty so far as to make a promise or appointment to sacrifice her virtue to him, she might the easier conquer the surprise ; so she seemed to slight it.

But, madam, says the minister, if you would take my advice——and there he stopped.

What advice, sir ? says she ; I don't understand what you mean.

Why I would advise you to go back to the town again, and not go into the way of mischief.

She still withstood, and put him off with the usual answer, I don't understand you ; what do ye mean ? and the like ; but at last the minister, raising his voice a little, like to that of a stern reprover,

Come, come, young lady, says he, you can't conceal your wicked purposes ; you have made Mr. —— an appointment ; he prevailed on you last night, and you have now decked yourself up with

your ornaments to meet him, and prostitute your virtue, and your honour, and your conscience, all to his corrupt, vicious appetite ; and I know it, you may see that I do ; my advice to you is to go back, and break your wicked promise, and repent that you made it. I shall give him the same advice presently.

If she was surprised before, she was confounded now, partly with horror at the fact itself, which now she was struck a little with the sense of ; and partly, but tenfold more, with the shame of its being known. It put her into such confusion that at first she could not answer a word : but after a while she said, If you know the gentleman is there, sir, I shall not go, especially since you have such hard thoughts of me ; and upon saying this she turns about and goes directly back again, and the minister went from her towards the house. As the farmer lived but a very little way from the place where she stood talking with him, she looked behind her and saw him go into the house, and the door shut after him.

Any one will suppose, upon this shock to her design, and being not only disappointed in her wicked pleasures, but exposed and betrayed, as she imagined, by her lover, she went directly home without any stay, and there gave vent to her passions with the utmost rage, and with all the resentment that such base treatment could inspire her with.

The gentleman, on the other hand, being extremely disappointed, and not knowing what could be the reason of it, after he had waited a long time, came back to see what was the matter, believing she must be taken ill, or that something had happened very extraordinary.

When he came to the house, (she lived, it seems, with an aunt, whose husband was also dependent upon the young gentleman's father,) he inquired for

his mistress, but her maid brought him word that she could not be spoken with.

That answer not being satisfactory, and having refused to be answered with two or three more such excuses, at last she sent him word plainly that she had nothing to say to him, and that she not only would not see him now, but would never see him more.

Surprised with this, and not able to guess the meaning of it, he goes away ; but the next morning writes her a very civil obliging letter, wherein, among abundance of the usual expressions of lovers, he begs to know what he had done that should merit such treatment, and that she would let him into so much, at least, of the causes of her displeasure as should put him in a way to clear himself ; protesting that he knew not the least step he had taken to disoblige her, except in punctually attending her appointment, and having the mortification of sitting five hours by himself in expectation of her company.

In answer to this she sent him a long letter full of reproaches for his vile usage of her, drawing her into a sinful, shameful compliance with him, and then exposing her, and triumphing over her weakness ; making her, with one hand, the pretended object of his amour, and with the other, the sport of his companions. She upbraided him with telling her that he sat five hours alone, whereas he had much better company than she could have been ; seeing the good doctor, who had admonished her not to expose herself in meeting him, had given him the same good advice that he had done to her, and so had not made so bad a use of his treachery in betraying her as he expected.

She concluded with telling him, it was her happiness that this came to her knowledge before she had

thrown herself into the arms of a traitor; and though he had done her the injustice to boast of her weakness, she thanked God he triumphed when he had gained but half a victory; that she was infinitely beholden to him for her deliverance, and that it was the only obligation he had ever laid upon her.

If I could give you the entertainment of all the letters that passed between them, while they were both under the amusement of the mysterious part, and perfectly ignorant of the occasion, and then add the surprise of the discovery, it would make two acts of a good comedy; but I must shorten the story as much as I can.

He was so surprised with this answer from his mistress that he could not tell what to make of it, and especially those paragraphs which related to the good doctor's admonishing her and being in his company; all which, as he really had known nothing of it, so there was no guessing at the meaning of it. It was impossible so much as to have the least notion about it; it was all confusion and darkness, and without the least meaning that he could come at. In a word, abundance of letters passed between them, but still she continued using him after the same manner, talked the same style, about his betraying her, and that he acted the very part of the Devil, first to tempt and then to accuse, first to draw her in with a thousand importunities, and then expose her for complying. She reproached him with the many solicitations and protestations of affection, and appealed to him to testify whether he had made an easy conquest, and whether she had not so long withstood his most incessant assaults; challenged him to tell how long he had besieged her, and whether she had yielded at last but on an honourable capitulation, though unhappily she had granted possession without the due securities. She

asked him why, when he triumphed over her honour, he had not had so much generosity to own what the treaty had cost him, and how long it was before he had gained that little he had to boast of?

He protested at large that he was perfectly surprised at the whole affair, understood not one word of it, could not dive into her meaning, abhorred the thought of what she charged him with ; and at last very warmly insisted upon her explaining herself, and that otherwise, as she did him so much injustice, he would do himself justice, for he heard she made it too public, and that though he had not done it yet, being tender of her character, yet he could not bear to be treated in this manner and not know something of the reason of it.

At last he pressed her to let him but speak with her ; which, though it was long before she would grant, yet she did consent to at last, lest he should expose her.

At this interview they began to come to an understanding ; she owned that she was coming to the place, but that she saw the minister go in just before her, which made her go back again ; but she did not tell him a word of her seeing the minister on the way.

He protested there was no minister came to him, or into the house ; and afterwards brought the people of the house to testify the same ; that he sat all the while in the parlour reading a book, and that no creature came near him, nor so much as to the door.

This startled her ; and at last, with much importunity, she told him the whole story of her meeting with the doctor in the fields ; and, in a word, how the doctor told her where she was going, and to whom ; that he was there waiting for her ; and, which confounded her worse than all, had told her

what she was going about, adding, that she had made the promise the night before, and that he, meaning the gentleman, had told him so.

(In this part she was mistaken ; the doctor said he had been told of it as soon as she had made the promise, and she, in her surprise, understood it that he said the gentleman told him.)

He was so full of this heavy charge, and himself in every part so clear of it, that it was impossible he should sit still with it. He knew not what to make of it ; he knew very well that he had never opened his mouth to any one, man, woman, or child, about it ; that the farmer, or any of his family, knew not a word of it, only that he was to meet her there, as they had frequently done before, and innocently enough ; and he could not suppose she could be so weak to talk of it herself ; so that he could not yet imagine what it could be.

A few days furnished him with an opportunity to talk with the minister himself, who came frequently to his father's house ; and being one day very free with him, he jested with him for hindering him of two or three hours of very good company.

The doctor answered him, he should be very sorry to be guilty of anything so rude, and desired to know how it could be.

Why, doctor, says he, we were with some friends very merry at such a house, (insinuating that there was more company,) and such a lady, says he, (naming her,) was coming to us, and you met her, and persuaded her to go back again.

Sir, says the doctor, I have only one satisfaction in the whole story, and that is, that it cannot be true, as I shall soon satisfy you.

Nay, doctor, says the gentleman, I don't tell it you as of my own knowledge.

No, sir, says the doctor ; and I should not have

so little respect as to tell you it was false, if you had told it me of your own knowledge.

But do you assure me, says the gentleman, that it is not true?

I do assure you, says the doctor, upon my word, that I know nothing of it.

Why, doctor, says the gentleman, do you give me your word that you did not meet her in the fields next to farmer Gi——'s house, on the eleventh day of the very last month, being August? for I have it all down in black and white here.

(He pulls out his pocket-book, and looks for the day of the month.)

Not only not that day, says the doctor, but I never saw her in those fields, or any other fields, in my life.

Why you surprise me, doctor, says the gentleman; it is impossible.

I appeal to the lady herself, says the doctor.

Nay, doctor, says the gentleman, if you appeal to her you must be cast; for I will swear she told me so herself.

This confounded the doctor for a little while, but he presently recovered himself; Sir, says he, I was going to desire of you that we might wait upon Mrs. —— together, and that I might hear it from herself; but, upon recollecting all the circumstances, I am very happy in one thing, namely, that let her say so herself, and forty ladies more, I can prove to you that it is impossible it should be true.

That will indeed put an end to it all, says the gentleman; but how can you do that?

Why, sir, says the doctor, are you sure she does not give you a wrong day?

No, no, says the gentleman, I have a reason why it can't be a mistake of the day, for I have a memorandum of the day upon a remarkable occasion.

(He had set it down in his book upon the occasion of his being disappointed.)

And it is not the lady's mistake then? says the doctor; for you know women are not always the exactest in their accounts of days, nor months, unless it be on worse accounts than I believe you were to meet about.

Well, doctor, says the gentleman, but I am sure of the day, for I have it in my book.

Nay, if it was mistaken a day or two, says the doctor, it matters not; for, as I said before, I never saw her in the fields in my life; or, if I might see her among other people I am sure I never spoke to her. But besides, sir, I tell you this cannot be true, for I was at London all the last month till the twenty-seventh day, so that 'tis impossible.

Here the discourse necessarily broke off; the gentleman was loath to discover his surprise, but told him he would inquire further into it; and upon that he goes immediately back to the lady, reproaches her a little with her forming such a story to pick a quarrel, but not telling her that he had been with the minister at all; only, as he might easily know by other circumstances, that the doctor was out of town, he told her that he would not have charged her with such a thing in such harsh terms, if he was not, upon looking back a little upon things, come to a certainty that it was not only false, but that it was impossible to be true.

They had a long dialogue upon that head; and as he did not presently tell her the circumstances, thinking he had a little advantage upon her, he jested with her pretty smartly upon it, seemed to laugh that she should first put such a sham upon him, and then to tell such a formal story to make it good, and to excuse her breach of promise, and that not a word of truth should be in it.

She received his making a jest of it with disdain,

and told him she began now to discover what a kind of a man she was so near being ruined by ; and that she had been in good hands indeed, that could pretend to banter her thus ; that she should have been finely used, if the good minister had not been sent from heaven to save her from being doubly undone.

He told her she was soon angry ; but it touched her home ; However, madam, says he, you shan't slander the good man, for he had no hand in it.

Well, well, says she, I can better laugh at you for that folly, than I should have done for something too vile to name, if I had fallen into your hands : For, says she, I had too much reason to say now, that I was sure to have been both betrayed and exposed.

He said she grew scurrilous, and went from one story to another ; that she told him a false story, and wanted to drop it ; he desired her to stick to one thing, and go through that first.

She coloured, and raising her voice, told him it was below a gentleman to give a woman the lie ; that she believed, if she had been a man, he durst not have said so to her.

He told her she was mad, and that she had happened to speak a false thing, and was in a rage because she could not come off of it.

She told him he showed her again that he was no gentleman ; that if he gave her the lie again she would spit in his face ; and that if he would furnish her with a sword, she would do herself justice, and give him satisfaction as fairly as if she was a man ; and that for his giving her the lie, she threw it back in his face, he might make the best of it.

That's gallantly done, says he, madam, indeed, there's a sword for you ; and offers her his own, laying it down upon the table before her.

You an't even with me yet, says she ; I scorn as

much to take up a sword against a naked man, as you ought to have scorned, if you had been a gentleman, to give the lie to a woman.

(He began now to find she was too hard for him ; but he came back to the question.)

Well, madam, says he, will you own yourself in the wrong, if I prove to you what I said just now, that what you charge me with not only is false, but can't be true ?

Ay, ay, says she, what can't be true must be false ; but what does that do for you ?

Well, says he, will you venture so much upon it as —

Here she interrupted him with some warmth ; says she, I'll venture my life upon it.

No, madam, not your life, says he, you shall only oblige yourself to perform your promise, if I do prove it ; and I'll promise never to ask you more, if I do not.

I can't go that length again, to save my life but I'll freely consent to die any death in the world, that is not by lingering torture, if you can do it.

Why then, madam, says he, you know our appointment was such a day : so he reckoned up the days to her, till she understood the calculation, and agreed that it was so.

Well, it was such a day, says she, and that day I saw and talked with the doctor in such a place.

Well, madam, says he, and that day, and all the part of the month for several days both before and after it, the doctor was at London. I remember it, and you shall know it by very good circumstances, such as cannot be denied. I know it by several particulars.

Here he related to her several circumstances, as if he knew them by his own affairs, not letting her

know at all that he had seen the doctor and talked with him about it.

She laughed at him at first, and told him that he had been too old for her before; but she was too old for this now: that she might be imposed upon in many things; but when she saw a man that she knew, and had known from a child, and talked with a man she had talked to a thousand times, and had heard preach for almost fifteen years, he must not think to run her down with words: that she assured him it was so, and there was an end of the thing.

Well, madam, says he, and you pretend he came to the house too while I was there? How do you pretend to prove that?

Only, says she, that I stood still, with my eyes open, saw him at the door, saw little Jacky G——s, the farmer's son, open the door to him, make him a bow, saw the doctor go in, saw the door shut to again when he was in; that is all, says she, and smiled.

Well, says he, I can only say this, I will have the bottom of it out; for I will not be charged as guilty of using you ill, while I know nothing of it.

No, no, says she, I don't say I am used ill, I am used well, very well: and here she puts on an air of satisfaction, and sings,

To flee from the Devil's to bid him pursue;
And he certainly needs no inviting;
But if you assail he will quickly turn tail,
For the Devil was never for fighting.

The Devil can tempt, but he cannot compel;
He can wheedle, delude, and invite us;
But he never would fill up his quotas in hell,
If he only should bully and fright us.

But when once we're got out of his clutches,
He rages and roars like a bull :
His malice and emptiness such is,
And yet he's of venom so full.

The way then to deal with the Devil,
Is at his own weapons to fight him :
When he sets up his roar, provoke him the more,
And let him but see that you slight him,

For the Devil's a coward in nature,
A pitiful sorry poltroon ;
If you take but the whip, he'll give you the slip ;
And before you can lash him, he'll run.

Her singing put him into a passion ; for he took her song of the Devil to mean himself ; and he told her it was all a scandalous fiction of her own, and she should hear more of him ; and so offered to go out.

She bade him do his worst, and made him a curtsy, as if she supposed he had been just going away ; and now she laughed outright at him.

But he could not go away yet ; he told her he would not have her expose herself, that she ought not to use him so, and she would but force him to make her ashamed of it.

She told him it was good advice, to bid her not expose herself, and she had the more need of it, because he had exposed her so much already.

Then he told her he would bring the farmer and all his family to her, to prove that the doctor had not been there that day, nor for five months before ; and the boy should testify that he never saw him, nor opened the door, nor let him in.

Well sir, says she, now you come close to the point ; pray let all this be done : but let me ask one thing for you to think of as you go on ; Do you think I know doctor ——— our minister ?

Yes madam, says he, I believe you know him well enough, and that makes me wonder at you the more.

Well, and do you think my maid Mary knows him? says she.

Yes, says he, I believe she does; for she was born in the town.

Well, says she, then I have one witness of my side; you shall hear what she says.

Why madam, says he, was Mary with you?

You shall hear presently, says she.

So she rings a little bell, and in comes her maid.

Mist. Mary, don't you remember you walked out into the field with me one day last month?

Ma. What, when you went to farmer Gi—'s, madam, and sent me back again?

Mist. Yes; don't you remember you would fain ha' gone further?

Ma. Yes, madam, I was afraid you should go over the last field alone.

Mist. But what did I say to you, Mary?

Ma. Why, you would make me go back; by the same token we saw our minister Dr. ——— a coming after us, and you said the doctor would see you safe; and so I came away contented when I saw him.

Mist. Are you sure 'twas the doctor, Mary?

Ma. Sure, madam! yes: why he spoke to me.

Mist. What did he say to you?

Ma. He said, How d'ye do, Mrs. Mary? and touched his hat, just as he used to do.

Well sir, says she, then you see I wa'n't drunk, nor I did not walk in my sleep. If it were convenient, I would send for the doctor this minute, and he should tell you what he said to me.

Convenient, or not convenient, says he, I'll send for him, or go to him, for I will find it out: and then he swore a little.

That's much about as kind as all the rest, says she; rather expose anybody than yourself; but do your worst, the snare is broken, and I am escaped, 'twill expose yourself at last.

Come madam, says he, you shall see I can talk it with the doctor, and that before your face, and yet he shall know nothing of the matter.

I know a little too much of that, says she; he know nothing of it! and then she smiled.

This put him almost out of all temper, and he gave her ill words again; and at last added the whole story, and told her downright, that he had talked with the doctor already; and that he solemnly protested he knew nothing of it, and had never seen her or spoken with her for so long time, naming the time when he spoke last to her; likewise he told her what the doctor said of his having been at London all those three weeks when this happened.

She begun to be amazed, and a little confounded at this; but recovering herself, she told him that if the doctor was there himself, she had a direct answer to give him, for she was not a papist, to believe a priest against her own senses.

What answer can you give, madam, says he, when the doctor shall prove by twenty witnesses, if need were, that he was at London, almost a hundred miles off, all the while?

Why, my answer would be this, that 'twas either he or the Devil.

Well, then it was the Devil, says he; I won't dispute that with you, madam.

No, no, says she, I can satisfy you that it could not be the Devil; I can convince you; you will acknowledge it presently: Do you think the Devil would have turned me back again, when he knew the dreadful errand I was going on?

Nay, says he calmly, I confess that's the best thing you have said yet; Who then could it be? says he; for 'tis plain it could not be the doctor.

Then, says she, it must be some heavenly appearance in the doctor's clothes, for I knew not his face and his voice only, but his very gown; and if it was a good angel, I have the more reason to be thankful that he hindered me from running into the arms of the Devil: and with that she fell a crying, she could hold out no longer.

Well, they parted after this scuffle, for he was a little daunted himself.

But my story does not end here; for a little while after, something happened that explained all the rest: the lady had a visit to pay at a neighbour's house, who lived a little out of the town, only over one little enclosure, which she was obliged to cross: now as she was going over that close or enclosure, who should she meet but the doctor again? and she saw him a good while before he came up to her.

She was surprised at seeing him; and if she could have avoided him she would: but 'twas impossible. When he came up to her, he pulled off his hat very courteously, and immediately began to discourse of what he had said to her before; but took no notice at all of its having been denied.

Sir, says she, I have been very ill used upon that day's work.

I know it, says he, I know it, repeating the words: but your innocence shall be cleared up, I will do it myself; do you be thankful that you escaped the snare: and so, giving her no time to answer, he passed by her without taking any farewell: which being a little particular, made her turn her head to look at him: but though it was in the middle of the field, which was too large for him to

be out of it if he had flown as swift as a pigeon, (for it was not above a moment, not a second of time,) he was gone, and she saw nothing.

She was exceedingly surprised, and ready to sink into the ground; she was so frightened that she could not help sitting down even upon the grass; for her joints trembled under her, so that she could not stand.

It happened that a poor woman of the town came across the close at the very juncture, and knowing her, she called to her to come and help her up. She did not tell the woman what had happened to her, but that she was taken with a fit of trembling, and that if she had not sat down she must have fallen down; all which was true: so the poor woman helped her up, and led her home, where she continued very ill of the fright for several days.

In this time she had a very great desire to see the gentleman, for by what the apparition said to her she made no doubt but he had seen it too.

After some time he had heard that she was very ill, and thinking what he had said to her might have had some influence upon her, to hurt her, he resolved to go and see her; for though he had ruffled her pretty much, yet, as he said afterwards, he loved her very well; and the better for her so seasonably recovering her virtue and good principles; and much better than he believed he should have done if he had had his will of her, as he should certainly have had, if she had met him that time at the farmer's.

With these kind thoughts he went to visit her; and though she was very ill, yet she would be brought out of her chamber to see him.

After some civilities, he frankly told her the reason of his visit, word for word as above, and that he came to cheer her up a little.

She thanked him, but told him it was true it had extremely troubled her, to think, first, how near she had been to her utter ruin, and then how needlessly she had been exposed for it; and that though she had no guilt, as he very well knew, other than that which was in the first wicked consenting, yet she had been as much exposed as if she had been really his whore.

He protested to her that he never had opened his lips of it to the doctor, or any one else; and that it was the resentment at the charging him with it, that had made him so angry, and nothing else; for that he scorned anything so base.

She told him it was impossible for any one to believe otherwise before; but that she believed he was satisfied how it all was, now; and that something had happened since, which had opened her eyes, though it had almost killed her; and she believed he knew something of it too.

He wanted to know what it was, for he protested he knew nothing. What, says he, is there any more mysteries?

She said she could not tell him, because she supposed he would not believe her.

He answered, he would believe her in everything that he ought to believe anybody in.

She told him she believed there would be no occasion to tell him, for that she did not doubt but he would be informed the same way that she was, if he was not already.

He importuned her earnestly to let him know what it was; and that with such a serious kind of discourse, that she fancied he had seen something too; but it seems he had not: however he entreated her so much, that at last she let him know the whole story, as above.

There is a great deal more belongs to this story, which would be very diverting, and not without its

uses too; but as the particular relation does not come within the verge of my own knowledge, I cannot vouch all the particulars, at least not sufficiently.

However, it is enough to the case in hand: if the apparition came to prevent this poor deluded young lady from prostituting herself to a man that had wheedled her in upon such dishonourable terms, it could not certainly be the Devil, or any spirit of his class, or under his government and direction; he would never have exhorted her to go back, reproached her with the crime, and prevailed upon her to believe it had been revealed to him by the treachery of her lover.

This must be certainly one of those angelic guards which the God of nature, in mercy to mankind, has placed as a detached body of spirits to counteract the Devil, prevent the arch-enemy seducing his creatures, and overwhelming the world with crime; and if the story be as I have received it, and now handed it down, it seems a merciful disposition of providence in favour of the gentleman, as well as the lady; and be it a parable or a history, the moral is the same, and the improvement of it the same too: they that are running the same course of folly would have reason to be very thankful if they were sure to meet with the same kind of disappointment, and would never say it was the Devil that told it them.

The gentleman, it seems, did not slight the story so much as she expected he would, nor did he question the truth of any or every part of it; for she told it with so much steadiness, always agreeing in every particular, and gave so concurring accounts of the circumstances as they related to what had happened before, that it was apparent it was no delusion.

That which made him most uneasy, was that the apparition seemed to promise to appear to him: and

him with her importunities ; and she argued upon two points against him, I mean the son.

First, If he was dead, then there was no room to object, her son being heir at law.

Secondly, If he was not dead, his behaviour to his father in not writing for so long a time was inexcusable, and he ought to resent it, and settle the estate as if he were dead ; that nothing could be more disobliging, and his father ought to depend upon it that he was dead, and treat him as if he was so ; for he that would use a father so, should be taken for one dead, as to his filial relation, and be treated accordingly.

His father, however, stood out a long time, and told her that he could not answer it to his conscience ; that there might happen many things in the world, which might render his son unable to write ; that he might be taken by the Turks, and carried into slavery ; or he might be among the Persians or Arabians (which it seems was the case) and so could not get any letters conveyed ; and that he could not be satisfied to disinherit him, till he knew whether he had reason for it or no, or whether his son had offended him or no.

These answers, however just, were far from stopping her importunities, which she carried on so far, that she gave him no rest, and it made an unquiet family ; she carried it very ill to him, and in a word, made her children do so too ; and the gentleman was so wearied out with it, that once or twice he came to a kind of consent to do it, but his heart failed him, and then he fell back again, and refused.

However, her having brought him so near it, was an encouragement to her to go on with her restless solicitations, till at last he came thus far to a provisional agreement, that if he did not hear from his

son by such a time, or before it, he would consent to a re-settling the estate.

She was not well satisfied with the conditional agreement, but being able to obtain no other, she was obliged to accept of it as it was; though, as she often told him, she was far from being satisfied with it as to the time, for he had fixed it for four years, as above.

He grew angry at her telling him so, and answered, that she ought to be very well satisfied with it, for that it was time little enough, as his son's circumstances might be.

Well, she teased him however so continually, that at last she brought him down to one year: but before she brought him to that, she told him one day in a heat, that she hoped his ghost would one time or other appear to him, and tell him that he was dead, and that he ought to do justice to his other children, for he should never come to claim the estate.

When he came, so much against his will, to consent to shorten the time to one year, he told her that he hoped his son's ghost, though he was not dead, would come to her, and tell her he was alive, before the time expired: For why, says he, may not injured souls walk while embodied, as well as afterwards?

It happened one evening after this, that they had a most violent family quarrel upon this subject, when on a sudden a hand appeared at a casement, endeavouring to open it; but as all the iron casements used in former times, opened outward, but hasped or fastened themselves in the inside; so the hand seemed to try to open the casement, but could not. The gentleman did not see it, but his wife did, and she presently started up, as if she was frightened, and forgetting the quarrel they had upon their hands,

Lord bless me! says she, there are thieves in the garden. Her husband ran immediately to the door of the room they sat in, and opening it, looked out.

There's nobody in the garden, says he; so he clapped the door to again, and came back.

I am sure, says she, I saw a man there.

It must be the Devil then, says he; for I'm sure there's nobody in the garden.

I'll swear, says she, I saw a man put his hand up to open the casement; but finding it fast, and I suppose, adds she, seeing us in the room, he walked off.

It is impossible he could be gone, says he; did not I run to the door immediately? and you know the garden walls on both sides hinder him going.

Pry'thee, says she angrily, I an't drunk nor in a dream, I know a man when I see him, and 'tis not dark, the sun is not quite down.

You're only frightened with shadows, says he, (very full of illnature :) folks generally are so that are haunted with an evil conscience: it may be 'twas the Devil.

No, no, I'm not soon frightened, says she; if 'twas the Devil, 'twas the ghost of your son: it may be come to tell you he was gone to the Devil, and you might give your estate to your eldest bastard, since you won't settle it on the lawful heir.

If it was my son, says he, he's come to tell us he's alive, I warrant you, and to ask how you can be so much a devil to desire me to disinherit him; and with those words, Alexander, says he aloud, repeating it twice, starting up out of his chair, if you are alive show yourself, and don't let me be insulted thus every day with your being dead.

At those very words, the casement which the hand had been seen at by the mother, opened of itself, and his son Alexander looked in with a full

face, and staring directly upon the mother with an angry countenance, cried Here, and then vanished in a moment.

The woman that was so stout before, shrieked out in a most dismal manner, so as alarmed the whole house; her maid ran into the parlour, to see what was the matter, but her mistress was fainted away in her chair.

She was not fallen upon the ground, because it being a great easy chair, she sunk a little back against the side of the chair, and help coming immediately in, they kept her up; but it was not till a great while after, that she recovered enough to be sensible of anything.

Her husband run immediately to the parlour door, and opening it, went into the garden, but there was nothing; and after that he run to another door that opened from the house into the garden, and then to two other doors which opened out of his garden, one into the stable-yard, and another into the field beyond the garden, but found them all fast shut and barred; but on one side was his gardener, and a boy, drawing the rolling-stone: he asked them if anybody else had been in the garden, but they both constantly affirmed nobody had been there; and they were both rolling a gravel-walk near the house.

Upon this he comes back into the room, sits him down again, and said not one word for a good while; the women and servants being busy all the while, and in a hurry, endeavouring to recover his wife.

After some time she recovered so far as to speak, and the first words she said, were

L—d bless me! what was it?

Nay, says her husband, it was Alexander to be sure.

With that she fell into a fit, and screamed and shrieked out again most terribly.

Her husband not thinking that would have affected her, did what he could to persuade her out of it again; but that would not do, and they were obliged to carry her to bed, and get some help to her; but she continued very ill for several days after.

However, this put an end for some considerable time to her solicitations about his disinheriting her son-in-law.

But time, that hardens the mind in cases of a worse nature, wore this off also by degrees, and she began to revive the old cause again, though not at first so eagerly as before.

Nay, he used her a little hardly upon it too, and if ever they had any words about it he would bid her hold her tongue, or that if she talked any more upon that subject, he would call Alexander again to open the casement.

This aggravated things much; and though it terrified her a great while, yet at length she was so exasperated, that she told him she believed he dealt with the Devil, and that he had sold himself to the Devil only to be able to fright his wife.

He jested with her, and told her any man would be beholden to the Devil to hush a noisy woman, and that he was very glad he had found the way to do it, whatever it cost him.

She was so exasperated at this, that she threatened him if he played any more of his hellish arts with her she would have him indicted for a wizard, and having a familiar; and she could prove it, she said, plain enough, for that he had raised the Devil on purpose to fright his wife.

The fray parted that night with ill words and ill nature enough, but he little thought she intended as she said, and the next day he had forgot it all, and was as good-humoured as if nothing had happened.

But he found his wife chagrined and disturbed very much, full of resentment, and threatening him with what she resolved to do.

However, he little thought she intended him the mischief she had in her head, offering to talk friendly to her; but she rejected it with scorn, and told him she would be as good as her word, for she would not live with a man that should bring the Devil into the room as often as he thought fit, to murder his wife.

He strove to pacify her by fair words, but she told him she was in earnest with him: and, in a word, she was in earnest; for she goes away to a justice, and making an affidavit that her husband had a familiar spirit, and that she went in danger of her life, she obtained a warrant for him to be apprehended.

In short, she brought home the warrant, showed it him, and told him she had not given it into the hands of an officer, because he should have the liberty to go voluntarily before the justice of the peace, and if he thought fit to let her know when he would be ready, she would be so too, and would get some of her own friends to go along with her.

He was surprised at this, for he little thought she had been in earnest with him, and endeavoured to pacify her by all the ways possible; but she found she had frightened him heartily, and so indeed she had, for though the thing had nothing in it of guilt, yet he found it might expose him very much, and being loath to have such a thing brought upon the stage against him, he used all the entreaties with her that he was able, and begged her not to do it.

But the more he humbled himself the more she triumphed over him; and carrying things to an unsufferable height of insolence, she told him at last, she would make him do justice, as she called it; that

she was sure she could have him punished if he continued obstinate, and she would not be exposed to witchcraft and sorcery; for she did not know to what length he might carry it.

To bring the story to a conclusion; she got the better of him to such a degree, that he offered to refer the thing to indifferent persons, friends on both sides; and they met several times, but could bring it to no conclusion. His friends said there was nothing in it, and they would not have him comply with anything upon the pretence of it; that he called for his son, and somebody opened the casement and cried, Here; that there was not the least evidence of witchcraft in that, and insisted that she could make nothing of it.

Her friends carried it high, instructed by her: she offered to swear that he had threatened her before with his son's ghost; that now he visibly raised a spectre; for that calling upon his son, who was dead to be sure, the ghost immediately appeared; that he could not have called up the Devil thus to personate his son, if he had not dealt with the Devil himself, and had a familiar spirit, and that this was of dangerous consequence to her.

Upon the whole, the man wanted courage to stand it, and was afraid of being exposed; so that he was grievously perplexed, and knew not what to do.

When she found him humbled as much as she could desire, she told him, if he would do her justice, as she called it, (that is to say, settle his estate upon her son,) she would put it up, on condition that he should promise to fright her no more with raising the Devil.

That part of the proposal exasperated him again, and he upbraided her with the slander of it, and told her he defied her, and she might do her worst.

Thus it broke off all treaty, and she began to threaten him again; however, at length she brought him to comply, and he gives a writing under his hand to her, some of her friends being by, promising that he would comply if his son did not arrive, or send an account of himself, within four months.

She was satisfied with this, and they were all made friends again, and accordingly he gave the writing; but when he delivered it to her in presence of her two arbitrators, he took the liberty to say to her, with a grave and solemn kind of speech:

Look you, says he, you have worried me into this agreement by your fiery temper, and I have signed it against justice, conscience, and reason; but depend upon it, I shall never perform it.

One of the arbitrators said, Why, sir, this is doing nothing; for if you resolve not to perform it, what signifies the writing? why do you promise what you do not intend shall be done? This will but kindle a new flame to begin with, when the time fixed expires.

Why, says he, I am satisfied in my mind that my son is alive.

Come, come, says his wife, speaking to the gentleman that had argued with her husband, let him sign the agreement, and let me alone to make him perform the conditions.

Well, says her husband, you shall have the writing, and you shall be let alone; but I am satisfied you will never ask me to perform it; and yet I am no wizard, adds he, as you have wickedly suggested.

She replied, that she would prove that he dealt with the Devil, for that he raised an evil spirit by only calling his son by his name; and so began to tell the story of the hand and the casement.

Come, says the man to the gentleman that was her friend, give me the pen ; I never dealt with but one devil in my life, and there it sits, turning to his wife ; and now I have made an agreement with her that none but the Devil would desire any man to sign, and I will sign it ; I say, give me the pen, but she nor all the devils in hell will ever be able to get it executed ; remember I say so.

She began to open at him, and so a new flame would have been kindled, but the gentlemen moderated between them, and her husband setting his hand to the writing put an end to the fray at that time.

At the end of four months she challenged the performance, and a day was appointed, and her two friends that had been the arbitrators were invited to dinner upon this occasion, believing that her husband would have executed the deeds ; and accordingly the writings were brought all forth, engrossed, and read over ; and some old writings, which at her marriage were signed by her trustees, in order to her quitting some part of the estate to her son, were also brought to be cancelled : the husband being brought over, by fair means or foul, I know not whether, to be in a humour, for peace' sake, to execute the deeds, and disinherit his son ; alleging that, indeed, if he was dead it was no wrong to him, and if he was alive, he was very unkind and undutiful to his father, in not letting him hear from him in all that time.

Besides, it was urged that if he should at any time afterwards appear to be alive, his father (who had very much increased, it seems, in his wealth) was able to give him another fortune, and to make him a just satisfaction for the loss he should sustain by the paternal estate.

Upon these considerations, I say, they had brought over the poor low-spirited husband to be

almost willing to comply ; or, at least, willing or unwilling, it was to be done, and, as above, they met accordingly.

When they had discoursed upon all the particulars, and, as above, the new deeds were read over, she or her husband took the old writings up to cancel them ; I think the story says it was the wife, not her husband, that was just going to tear off the seal, when on a sudden they heard a rushing noise in the parlour where they sat, as if somebody had come in at the door of the room which opened from the hall, and went through the room towards the garden door, which was shut.

They were all surprised at it, for it was very distinct, but they saw nothing. The woman turned pale, and was in a terrible fright ; however, as nothing was seen, she recovered a little, but began to ruffle her husband again.

What, says she, have you laid your plot to bring up more devils again ?

The man sat composed, though he was under no little surprise too.

One of her gentlemen said to him, What is the meaning of all this ?

I protest, sir, says he, I know no more of it than you do.

What can it be then ? said the other gentleman.

I cannot conceive, says he, for I am utterly unacquainted with such things.

Have you heard nothing from your son ? says the gentleman.

Not one word, says the father, no, not the least word these five years.

Have you wrote nothing to him, says the gentleman, about this transaction ?

Not a word, says he ; for I know not where to direct a letter to him.

Sir, says the gentleman, I have heard much of

apparitions, but I never saw any in my life, nor did I ever believe there was anything of reality in them; and, indeed, I saw nothing now; but the passing of somebody, or spirit, or something, across the room just now, is plain; I heard it distinctly. I believe there is some unseen thing in the room, as much as if I saw it.

Nay, says the other arbitrator, I felt the wind of it as it passed by me. Pray, adds he, turning to the husband, do you see nothing yourself?

No, upon my word, says he, not the least appearance in the world.

I have been told, says the first arbitrator, and have read, that an apparition may be seen by some people and be invisible to others, though all in the same room together.

However, the husband solemnly protested to them all that he saw nothing.

Pray, sir, says the first arbitrator, have you seen anything at any other time, or heard any voices or noises, or had any dreams about this matter?

Indeed, says he, I have several times dreamed my son is alive, and that I had spoken with him; and once that I asked him why he was so undutiful, and slighted me so, as not to let me hear of him in so many years, seeing he knew it was in my power to disinherit him.

Well, sir, and what answer did he give?

I never dreamed so far on as to have him answer; it always waked me.

And what do you think of it yourself, says the arbitrator, do you think he's dead?

No, indeed, says the father, I do believe in my conscience he's alive, as much as I believe I am alive myself; and I am going to do as wicked a thing of its kind as ever any man did.

Truly, says the second arbitrator, it begins to shock me, I don't know what to say to it; I don't

care to meddle any more with it, I don't like driving men to act against their consciences.

With this the wife, who, as I said, having a little recovered her spirits, and especially encouraged because she saw nothing, started up, What's all this discourse to the purpose, says she, is it not all agreed already? what do we come here for?

Nay, says the first arbitrator, I think we meet now not to inquire into why it is done, but to execute things according to agreement, and what are we frightened at?

I'm not frightened, says the wife, not I; come, says she to her husband, haughtily, sign the deed; I'll cancel the old writings if forty devils were in the room; and with that she takes up one of the deeds, and went to tear off the seal.

That moment the same casement flew open again, though it was fast in the inside, just as it was before; and the shadow of a body was seen, as standing in the garden without, and the head reaching up to the casement, the face looking into the room, and staring directly at the woman with a stern and an angry countenance; Hold, said the spectre, as if speaking to the woman, and immediately clapped the casement to again, and vanished.

It is impossible to describe here the consternation this second apparition put the whole company into; the wife, who was so bold just before, that she would do it though forty devils were in the room, screamed out like a woman in fits, and let the writing fall out of her hands: the two arbitrators were exceedingly terrified, but not so much as the rest; but one of them took up the award which they had signed, in which they awarded the husband to execute the deed to dispose of the estate from the son.

I dare say, said he, be the spirit a good spirit or a bad, it will not be against cancelling this; so he tore

his name out of the award, and so did the other, by his example, and both of them got up from their seats, and said they would have no more to do in it.

But that which was most unexpected of all was that the man himself was so frightened, that he fainted away; notwithstanding it was, as it might be said, in his favour.

This put an end to the whole affair at that time; and, as I understand by the sequel, it did so for ever.

The story has many particulars more in it, too long to trouble you with: but two particulars, which are to the purpose, I must not omit, viz.,

1. That in about four or five months more after this second apparition, the man's son arrived from the East Indies, whither he had gone four years before in a Portuguese ship from Lisbon.

2. That upon being particularly inquired of about these things, and especially whether he had any knowledge of them, or any apparition to him, or voices, or other intimation as to what was doing in England, relating to him; he affirmed constantly that he had not, except that once he dreamed his father had written him an angry letter, threatening him that if he did not come home he would disinherit him, and leave him not one shilling. But he added, that he never did receive any such letter from his father in his life, or from any one else.

CHAP. IX.

More relations of particular facts, proving the reality of apparitions; with some just observations on the difference between the good and evil spirits, from the errand or business they come about.

I MAKE no remarks upon any of these stories; the present business is to bring examples of such things, to prove the reality of apparitions in general: as to who, or what it is, that in such cases may appear, and why, and upon what occasions; that we shall speak of hereafter.

I shall bring one example now within my own knowledge, and in which I had some concern; not but that other accounts may be as authentic as this, though I cannot so positively vouch them at second or third hand. When I offer those to you, therefore, I tell you honestly that I have such and such relations from good hands, or I have such a story by me in manuscript, and I leave you to make such use of them as you please.

This caution of mine, however, ought not to lessen the credit of any of the relations here published; for why may not the account given by another hand be as true as this which I give you from my own knowledge; and why must an author, in such cases as these, be made answerable for the particulars of every history, or be bound to leave it out? which would be the reader's loss, not his own.

However, the following I can vouch from my own knowledge. A. B. was a merchant in London,

and as he drove a considerable trade beyond sea, he established a factor, or as the language of trade calls it, a house, at a certain port in the English colonies in America, and sent over his servants or apprentices thither, as is usual for merchants to do.

One of his said apprentices being fitted out, and ready to embark, his cargo being actually on board the ship, and the ship fallen down the river as far as Gravesend; his master was getting his letters and invoices, and other despatches, ready for him, he being to go down the river the same evening.

The hurry which thus despatching him put his master into, occasioned, that when he was called to dinner at the usual hour, he did not take the young gentleman with him as usual, but told him he must be content to stay in the counting-house till he came to relieve him.

Accordingly, dinner being over, he goes down to send him up to dinner. And when he came to the counting-house door, there sat his man, with the book-keeper also, writing, as he left him.

It happened just that moment, some occasion extraordinary obliged him to step back again, and go up stairs to the dining-room, from whence he came; and intending not to stay, he did not speak to the young man, but left him in the counting-house, and went immediately up stairs.

It was not possible that he, or any one else, except such as could walk invisible, could go by, or pass him unseen: good manners would have hindered the young man from thrusting by his master upon the stairs, if he had been going up; but he is positive he did not, and could not pass, without being seen.

But when he came to the top of the stairs there sat the young man at dinner with the other servants; the room they dined in being a little parlour, which

opened just against the stairs, so that he saw him all the way of the upper part of the staircase, and could not be deceived.

The master did not speak to him, which he was very sorry for afterwards; but the surprise made him pass by the room, and go into the dining-room, which was to the right hand of it, but he sent one immediately to look, and he was there really at dinner; so that what he (the master) saw below in the counting-house, must be the apparition, as it certainly was.

But this was not all: the young gentleman embarked as above, and arrived safe with all his effects in America, though he never lived to return. However, I cannot say his apparition, in the manner as related, could have the least relation to his being sick, and dying abroad, which was not till three years afterwards. But what followed was of another kind.

This young man had an elder brother, who lived in London; he was a fine gentleman, and a scholar, and was at that time studying physic. He was also a stout, brave gentleman, and in particular understood a sword, that is to say, how to use a sword, as well as most gentlemen in England.

He had an accidental rencounter with a gentleman in the street, in that short street which goes out of Fleet-street into Salisbury-court; and being so complete a master of his weapon, he wounded his antagonist, and drove him into a tavern in the street, from whence came out two men more upon him with their swords, but both of them found the gentleman so much an over-match for them, that they left him as fast as the first; whereupon a fourth came out, not with a sword, but a fire-fork taken hastily up out of the tavern kitchen, and running at this gentleman with it, knocked him down, and broke his skull, of which wound he afterwards died.

While this was done in London, his brother, as far off as Boston in New England, writing to his master the merchant, (and who gives this account of it,) after other business, writ this postscript.

SIR,

I beg you will be pleased in your return to this to let me have some account, as much as conveniently may be, of how my brother does, and what condition he is in; which you will excuse my importunity for, when you read the following account, viz.:

The 20th of ——— last, about six o'clock in the morning, lying in my bed, and broad awake, my brother, or an apparition of my brother, came to the bed's feet, and opened the curtain, looking full in my face, but did not speak. I was very much frightened, but however I so far recovered as to say to him, Brother, what is the matter with you?

He had a napkin-cap on his head, which was very bloody, he looked very pale and ghastly, and said, I am basely murdered by ———, (naming the person,) but I shall have justice done me; and then disappeared.

Now this letter was so dated, that it was impossible any account could be sent of the disaster, that could reach thither in that time; for it was not dated above fourteen days after the fact was committed in London; and that it was genuine I am well assured, because I saw the letter within an hour after it was received in London, read it myself, and knew the young man's hand, and the young man also, perfectly well, as I did his brother that was killed also, very intimately.

The young man was sober, religious and sensible, not given to whimsey, or lightheaded fancies, not vapourish or distempered, not apt to see double, or to

dream waking, as many of our apparition-making people are ; he was besides that a scholar, and very serious : the first I mention as a protection to him from foolish imagination, and the last from falsehood ; and I am satisfied, the reader may depend upon both the stories, I mean as to the truth of them.

In my speaking of apparitions as I have stated the case, I must take leave to differ from the notions of the ancients, who it is evident understood all apparition to be the souls, or, as we call them, the ghosts, of departed persons ; but when they came to make rational conclusions from those first opinions, what wild additions were they driven to make to the first just conceptions which they had formed in their minds ?

Their first conceptions, I say, were indeed just, consistent with reason, and with nature ; for they concluded, that when the body is dead, and the soul separated, the state was determined. This Mr. Pope expresses very well in his Translation of Homer,

For to the further shore
When once we pass, the soul returns no more.

This was, I say, a rational and just sentiment ; but then they were confounded in all those imaginations, by seeing the apparitions of their departed friends, as if come back from those eternal shades ; and how to reconcile this they did not know.

To get over this difficulty, they were driven to strange shifts, and some of them, it must be confessed, were very foolish ones ; such as these :

1. That the soul wandered about in the air, till such time as the body obtained its due funeral rites : from this notion, the friends of the deceased were mightily concerned to see the funeral pile erected for their departed friends, and to have the body honourably burned ; then the ashes of the bones were

deposited in an urn, and that urn buried in the earth ; when this was done, the soul was admitted to pass the flood, that is, to be transported into the Elysian fields, from whence they never should return any more ; but in case these rites were not performed for any person, the soul wandered restless and unfixed, in a state of perplexity for an hundred years. Hence those lines in Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. :

Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est :
 Portitor ille, Charon : hi, quos vehit unda, sepulti.
 Nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
 Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quiêrunt.
 Centum errant annos, volitantque hæc littora circum :
 Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.
Æneid, lib. vi. line 325.

Now between this time, or during this interval, that is to say, between death and the funeral pile, they pretended they allowed the separated or unembodied souls of men might appear, and visit their friends, or harass their enemies ; and on this occasion, the ghost of Patroclus, slain by Hector at the siege of Troy, is brought in visiting his friend Achilles, and begging of him to get his funeral rites performed, that he might be admitted to rest.

————— Thus the phantasm said,
 Sleeps my Achilles, his Patroclus dead ?
 Living, I seem'd his dearest, tend'rest carc,
 But now forgot, I wander in the air :
 Let my pale corse the rites of burial know,
 And give me entrance in the shades below :
 'Till then the spirit finds no resting-place,
 But here and there th' unbodied spectres chase
 The vagrant dead—————

Iliad, lib. xxiii.

2. Homer's notion of the state of the dead, was something like the ancient philosophy of the Egyptians, which gave the soul a shape like the body,

and that it was only a receptacle of the mind; the mind they made to be the sublime and superior part, and that only.

Thus in the case of apparitions, they allowed that this case or shell called the soul, might appear after death, but the mind could not, but was exalted among the gods, and took up its eternal abode; from whence

———— it could return no more.

Thus the ghost of Patroclus, going with his speech to Achilles, says thus :

When once the last funereal flames ascend,
No more shall meet Achilles and his friend :
No more our thoughts to those we love make known.

This last notion, though gross and absurd in itself, was the utmost refuge they had, by which to solve the difficulty of apparitions. They imagined that the soul was not only separated by death from the body, but that there was a separation of the understanding from its case or vehicle, as they called it; so that the soul, which was but the image and form of the body, might be in hell; the body itself, burnt to ashes, remained in the urn; and the understanding, or mind, which was the sublime, divine part, be in heaven with the gods: this Homer expresses thus :—

'Tis certain man, though dead, retains
Part of himself; the immortal mind remains.
The form subsists without the body's aid,
Aerial semblance, and an empty shade.

Again he explains it in his *Odyssey*, lib. xi. line 600, speaking in the name of Ulysses :—

Now I the strength of Hercules behold,
A tow'ring spectre of gigantic mould,

A shadowy form ! For high in heaven's abodes,
Himself resides, a god among the gods.

Here Homer fancies Hercules, that is, the mind, the sublime part of Hercules, was in heaven, and exalted there to the highest degree too :

A god among the gods;

and yet at the same time his soul, his *εἶδωλον*, or image, was in hell. And Plutarch gives us the same description at large.

What learned nonsense, and what a great deal of it is here, to reconcile a thing, which, upon the Christian foundation, is made as easy as anything not immediately visible to the common eye can be made !

Nature dictated, and reason confirmed, that the first principle, namely, the soul, or, as they call it, the mind or understanding, fled to heaven immediately after death, and returned no more.

Thus Andromache, mourning for the loss of her husband Hector, is brought in speaking, according to the doctrine of the ancients :

Thou to the dismal realms for ever gone,
And I abandoned.

The dead, once passed to the dismal realms, as they called the shades below, were gone for ever, and to return no more ; but then they were perplexed to find that they did return, as in this case of Patroclus to Achilles ; though that, by the way, was a dream only, not an apparition, or, as we may call it, an apparition in a dream, and no more.

But they had their apparitions, and we read of many apparitions of the dead to the living ; as, particularly, in the famous example of Cæsar appearing to Brutus : and this perplexed them so, that they

knew not how to support the principle of the soul not returning, under the experience of souls actually returning, in apparition, visiting and conversing with their friends, which was incontestable, daily experience making it known to all parties.

To reconcile this they fled to invention; and first, to that of the interval between the death and the funeral of the departed souls; of which before.

But this is liable to so many just exceptions, so many absurdities, that it could not satisfy men of sense: for, first, they were obliged to say and prove (which would be very difficult) that none of the souls of the dead ever appeared after the funeral rites were solemnized; which, if one example had contradicted, all the arguments in the world could not then have supported the fiction; and this, I cannot doubt, was contradicted on many occasions.

And this, no doubt, made the ancient system of the Egyptians be revived, and pass better among them afterwards; though whether the Romans received it or no, we do not find ascertained in any part of their history.

Besides, there was an absurdity in the very doctrine itself; for if the apparition of a departed soul was limited by this circumstance of burning the body, or performing the funeral rites, it put the state of the dead, in that particular respect, into the power of the living: for example, if the living, who had possession of the dead bodies of persons slain, suppose them friends, had possession of the body, the soul of that body, though unembodied and dismissed, could not be admitted to rest, or, as they expressed it, could not pass into the shades or realms below; so, if the enemy had possession of the body, it was in the power of the enemy to keep the soul out of heaven: an absurdity so gross, one would think the wiser heathens could never enter-

tain such a thought ; yet that such it was, the words of Patroclus's ghost, quoted from Homer, makes evident :—

Let my pale corse the rites of burial know,
And give me entrance in the shades below.

Unhappy Patroclus ! How gross would this sound, how harsh and unmusical, in our times, when Christianity hath given us more just ideas of things ! Patroclus could not get leave to go to the shades below till his funeral rites were performed ; that is, in our sense, could not be admitted, no, not into hell itself, till his body was burnt on the funeral pile, or pyre, and his ashes deposited in an urn, that is, buried like a gentleman.

By which rule, the souls of those poor creatures who were killed in the wars, and were left unburied in heaps in the field, or only a pile of stones thrown upon them, as was often the case, are wandering still, and neither admitted into heaven or hell.

Again, it was in the power of the enemy, if he had a body in possession, to preserve his hatred against that enemy even beyond death, and by keeping him unburied, keep his soul or spirit suspended, wandering, and forgotten, in the air, and neither admitted to one or other place, whether above or below.

Thus Achilles had the body of Hector in his power twelve days, and Homer brings him in triumphing over his enemy in that case, and in a manner unworthy of a man of honour. When he speaks to the ghost of his friend Patroclus, and vows to sacrifice twelve Trojan prisoners at his funeral pile, he adds :

Achilles' promise is complete,
The bloody Hector stretch'd before thy feet,
Lo! to the dogs his carcase I resign.

Gloomy, he said, and horrible in view,
Before the bier the bleeding Hector threw,
Prone on the dust.

Iliad, lib. xxiii. line 35.

So again, Achilles, mourning over the body of Patroclus as it lay upon the funeral pile, and the fire not yet kindled, I say, there again he threatens to deny Hector a soldier's burial :—

But heavier fates on Hector's corse attend,
Kept from the flames for hungry dogs to rend.

This was a terrible curse, and very cruel to poor Hector after he was dead, not to suffer his soul to enter into the shades below, which would be (to speak it in our language) not to give him leave to go to hell ; that the gods it seems thwarted Achilles, and would not let his cruelty take place, but he was obliged to grant Priam a truce, and let the Trojans bury him :

So spake he, threat'ning : but the gods made vain
His threat, and guard inviolate the slain.
Celestial Venus hover'd o'er his head,
And roseat unguents heavenly fragrance shed !
She watch'd him all the night, and all the day,
And drove the blood-hounds from their destin'd prey.

So that the burying of Hector was made the care of the gods, defeating the cruel vengeance of Achilles.

To what length did this foolish notion of the ancients carry this point ! putting it into the power of a man's enemy to keep his soul out of heaven too, as long as his enemy thought fit to keep the body out of the grave.

Happy it is for us in these malicious days that it is otherwise here ; when not enemies only, but even cruel creditors, might arrest the dead body of their debtor, and even send the soul of him to the Devil, or keep it hovering and wandering in the air till

their debts were paid: as times go now, and as charity stands now rated among us, no poor debtor could be at rest any more after he was dead, than he could before, till his debts were all paid.

Nay, though it had pleased a merciful Father to forgive him his sins, and as we allow it is possible, in spite of the cruel T ——— S ——— that a bankrupt may die in the state of a pardoned penitent; yet, I say, till the debt was paid, the more inexorable creditor should refuse to let him be admitted into heaven till he was paid the utmost farthing.

I must confess, if this were the case among us, I believe it would be the hardest thing in the world to get a poor bankrupt's composition accepted, or his certificate signed; for if it was in the power of the creditors to send their debtors to the Devil, I should be apt to say with the disciples of our Lord, *Who then shall be saved?*

How often do we find a creditor give it for an answer, when a soliciting friend comes begging him to compound, and to accept the utmost shilling that the debtor has to offer: how often, I say, do we find the cruel creditor reply, No, not I, I'll sign none of it, the Devil shall have him before I'll sign it?

Nay, if his soul was to hover in the air, as the ancients fancied, till the body was buried, I question whether they would let the debtor go either to heaven or hell till they had their money; especially if the hovering or wandering in the air was a worse condition, as I don't know but, while the devils are said to be there, it may.

But to return to the ancients and their notion of futurity, and of souls departed, the difficulty, as I have observed, was very perplexing: they granted that after the souls of men were once determined, and transported in Charon's ferry-boat to the other side of the river Styx, or the Stygian gulf, they could return no more; and all their other fables

upon that subject would have been overthrown and come to nothing, if it had been otherwise ; such as Cerberus barking continually at the gate, Charon the ferry-man carrying all over but bringing none back, and the like.

But notwithstanding this, as I have said, they found several of these souls visiting the world in apparition, and this quite destroyed all the scheme of their being in a determined state; so that they knew not what to think of next.

How would it have unravelled all those hard knots, and made everything easy to their understanding, had they been let into this just way of reasoning! had they discovered that there is an angelic world, an invisible world of spirits, some of whom being placed by their merciful Maker as an advanced body at or near the outer circumference of the earth's atmosphere, have a power given them at least to take cognizance of human affairs ; and to converse with this world, either by apparition, voices, noises, good or bad omens, or other sensible conveyances to the mind, by which they can give notices of good or evil, and can intimate to man many things useful to him in the conduct of his life.

That the spirits inhabiting this invisible world are at hand, (how near is not necessary to us to know,) can assume bodies, shape, voice, and even can personate this or that man or woman, so as to appear in the very figure, countenance, and clothes or dress of our departed friends, speak with their proper and distinct voices, and in the first person of this or that particular man or woman, and in their names ; and can thus suit themselves in their several appearances, to the occasion they appear for :

Had they known these things, I say, they would have rejoiced in the discovery, and it would have made everything easy to them. Patroclus would never have troubled Achilles with a visit from

the air, upon pretence of his being left to be wandering about the atmosphere for want of his funeral rites ; the dogs, or the crows, or the worms, might have feasted themselves on Hector's carcase, it would never have disturbed Hector in the least, much less would her goddess-ship Venus have concerned herself to protect his corpse till the funeral pile was prepared.

The doctrine of the soul's being a shell or case formed into a shape, as a mould is formed into shape to receive the brass or copper, and throw out a statue or figure of this or that hero, which it is appointed to form ; I say, this absurd doctrine of the soul, body, and mind, being three distinct persons in every man, would not have found place in the world ; but all things would have been conceived regularly of, and the world would have been rightly informed of future things, as well as of things present.

However, to bring it down to our case, all this concurs to the doctrine of spirits, and the reality of their appearance, which is the case before us : their friends departed did appear ; what it was appeared they knew not, only negatively they knew it was not their bodies, however the shape might be assumed ; nor could they reconcile that part to their understanding. How it could be, that the body seemed to appear and did not appear ; or, as we might say, appeared as if they had appeared ; but when a trial was offered, nobody could be found, as was the case of Patroclus and Achilles in Homer, which Mr. Pope thus translates :

He said, and with his longing arms essay'd,
In vain to grasp the visionary shade.
Like a thin smoke he sees the spirit fly,
And hears a feeble, lamentable cry.

How gross an ignorance is here in so great a

man as Achilles ! to go about to grasp a vision ! to feel a shade ! One can hardly excuse the poet for allowing Achilles, who was the hero of the whole poem, to be so weak, even in those days ; but it must be allowed it was all in a dream, and imaginary, and it might well awake him indeed, as it did, to grasp at a man in armour, and find nothing in his arms but smoke.

The result of it all is this, namely, the reality of apparition was a certain, undoubted, and received thing ; it is evident that they were not questioned ; for upon the reality of the appearance of souls, all those pains were taken to settle the possibility of it. That it was so, the frequency of the thing left them no room to question ; it would have been ridiculous to have disputed it ; but how it could be, how to reconcile it to all the notions of soul and body, the future and the present state, that was what nobody could explain, and nobody could understand ; which ignorance put their invention so much on the rack to find out and form schemes for the bringing the particulars together, and making the appearance possible, which they daily found was in fact real.

It was a little strange that though they were satisfied by daily demonstration that the thing was true, yet they were obliged to believe it was not true at the same time. They frequently saw their friends appear, and yet knew they were not in a condition from whence they could return to appear. But the strangest thing of all, at least to me, is, that they should not, all this while, conceive the possibility of spirits assuming human shape, and appearing in their figures, in their shapes, and in their names.

This would have put an end to all the difficulty, and have reconciled all the doubts that attended it, and, at the same time, would have led them into

several sublime truths, such as they were perhaps perfectly ignorant of; as particularly into the great doctrine of the unity of infinite power; the universal empire of Providence, and its government and influence of and upon all the affairs of this world, even the most minute things in life: and many other valuable inquiries.

That apparitions were believed to be real in those days, is evident from many instances of it given in history, though I have not room to look far back. It is said that Alexander the Great was haunted by the ghost of his friend Clitus, whom he had most ungratefully tortured to death, after a long series of the most faithful services, and successful also; but there is no particular account of it in Plutarch.

The apparition of the ghost of Julius Cæsar, to Brutus, a little before the battle at Philippi, though it be certain, is nevertheless variously reported; some accounts relate it to be the ghost of Julius Cæsar, and vulgar opinion concurs with that report; which is so received at this time, that they show you an original ancient piece of fine Italian painting at Naples, where the phantom is represented bloody and wounded, with Casca's dagger sticking in his shoulder, which he, Casca, reaching his arm over his shoulder, fixed in or near his collar-bone before, and left sticking there; whether that part of the story be right represented or not, is difficult to determine.

But according to other accounts, the apparition was only of a man, without any similitude of Cæsar; and that when Brutus, who was busy writing despatches for his army which was then drawing together to fight the Octavian troops, looked up and saw him, he boldly asked, What art thou? and the apparition answered, I am thy evil

genius, and I will meet thee again at Philippi; to which the undaunted hero, unconcerned at the sight, and as if he desired him not to disturb him at that time, he being then otherwise engaged, answered, Well, I'll meet thee there, and so went on with his writing.

Brutus was, without doubt, a hero in his personal valour, and more so in his principle, viz., the love of liberty, and of his country; and as nothing but the zeal for the liberty of his country could have embarked him against the life of Cæsar, who was otherwise his benefactor, so he was above the fear of death, and could not be in the least daunted at the foreknowledge of his fate at Philippi; seeing he had the notion of life which was general at that time, namely, that a true hero could never be miserable, since it was always in his power to die a freeman, and not to outlive any threatened calamity, whether personal or national.

Upon this foot he entered that unequal battle against the Octavian troops with an undaunted cheerfulness; for he was sure one way or other to come off victorious; that is to say, that if Augustus conquered his army, he knew how to conquer Augustus; if by the slaughter of his troops Cæsar had the better of him, and defeated his designs for the liberty of his country, he, by the slaughter of himself, knew how to defeat Augustus in his designs of conquering Brutus, since he resolved to die free, and not survive the Roman liberty; and so he daunted in his looking at and speaking to the did.

And upon this foundation it was, that he was so unconcerned at his approaching fate, and so unspectre that appeared to him.

But we have yet abundance more proofs by example of the reality of apparitions.

Alaric, the famous Gothic king, who overrun so much of the Roman empire, had an apparition

which came to him, and told him he should undertake his expedition against the Romans, and that promised him victory and success; some said it was an angel, others that it was the ghost of his deceased predecessor Rhadagaiseus. When he first undertook to raise his army he was intending to go upon a glorious expedition to the East, to wit, against the Huns and the Heruli; that is to say, into Poland, Sclavonia, and Hungaria, and perhaps Muscovy or Russia. But upon the apparition speaking to him, he was encouraged to undertake a war against the Romans in Italy; where, notwithstanding he was routed and utterly overthrown by Stilico, he afterwards returned into Italy, killed Stilico the Roman general, overrun the country, and took and plundered the city of Rome itself; this was anno 409: so that the apparition, of whatever kind it was, must be so far angelic, as to fore-know events and issues of things on earth, which must be suitable to the angelic heavenly spirits, and superior to the diabolic spirits, who know nothing prophetic.

Nor is it anything inconsistent with the angelic, exalted, and good spirits; for this was not encouraging evil, but stirring up a powerful prince, who was to be *Flagellum Dei*, to execute the divine vengeance upon that wicked people the Romans, whom God had resolved to destroy, or at least to reduce very low: like as God is said to stir up Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, to come up against Jerusalem.

I say this could not be the Devil, because (as I have always insisted upon it, so I do still) that he knows nothing of what is to come; the Devil is no prophet, he cannot foretell or predict, other than by probable guesses, rational consequences, and such circumstances in which he can go further than other people.

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her to stay till the game was done, and she would wait on her. The game being done, down stairs she came to the apparition, to know her business. Madam, says the ghost, turning up her veil, and her face appearing full of the small-pox, You know very well that you and I loved entirely, and your not coming to see me I took so ill at your hands, that I could not rest till I had seen you; and now I am come to tell you that you have not long to live, therefore prepare to die; and when you are at a feast, and make the thirteenth in number, then remember my words: and so the apparition vanished. To conclude; she was at a feast where she made the thirteenth person in number, and was afterwards asked by the deceased's brother whether his sister did appear to her, as was reported; she made him no answer, but fell a weeping, and died in a little time after. The gentleman that told this story says that there is hardly any person of quality but what knows it to be true.

I do not enter into an inquiry here whether the story is true or no; I believe it in common, for it was generally believed to be true: but it is strange to have this brought for an evidence of the prescience of the Devil, whereas, on the contrary, it confirms what I have said, viz., that this could not be the Devil, or what we call the appearance of the Devil, no, nor could it be the soul of the departed person; and for the apparition saying it could not be at rest, either it may be put in by some of the very many authors relating the story, or it might be said by the good angel or spirit appearing to introduce her message, and to rouse the mind of the person spoken to by something that should touch her more to the quick, be the more feeling and sensible to her, and so make a due impression upon her of the truth of that which was to follow.

But first, for its not being the Devil; for I have

granted that the Devil may make an apparition, though far from inferring from thence that all apparitions are the Devil; but, I say, as to its not being the Devil that appeared here in the shape of the deceased lady, it is evident.

First; because, as I have said above, and have repeated often, the Devil cannot predict, he has no prescience of things before they are in view; he can juggle, and play scurvy tricks of many kinds, as when he prophesied to the farmer the fall of his stack of corn, and then raised a sudden storm and blew it down. It may be he can see at some further distance than we can, and judge of the consequences of such and such causes better than we can, and with a more perfect and exact judgment. But to predict things which are only concealed in the womb of time, and behind the curtain of providence, as this of life and death was, it is not in Satan to do it, and therefore this could not be from the Devil; the lady was in health, was cheerful, nay merry, was at a feast, and at cards; here was no signal of death, or so much as of sickness. I see no token of the Devil in this apparition, except it be his extraordinary civility that he would not interrupt her game.

Secondly; it could not be the Devil, because of his bidding the lady prepare for death, which, as I have often observed, does not seem to be much of Satan's business, not being very suitable to his disposition, and less to his design.

There is some little incongruity in this story too, which renders it inconsistent, not with the Devil only, but even with the nature of a spirit or apparition: as 1. Why should the apparition come when the lady was engaged and could not speak to her? as if she, being a ghost or spirit, as we vulgarly express it, did not know what she was doing, as well as where she was. 2. How does her taking ill the living

lady's not visiting her oblige her to come and give her this kind notice of her death: I took it so ill at your hands, that I could not rest till I had seen you?

Though this does not shock my belief of the apparition itself, yet it seems that the several hands through which the relation has passed have made up the speech for the ghost, and committed some blunders in it that are indeed shocking to the reader.

It seems more rational to be as I have read the story, that the ghost should say thus: Though I took it very ill at your hands that you would not come to see me, yet I could not rest till I had seen you, to tell you that you have not long to live, and that you should prepare, &c. This is much better sense, and more agreeable to the nature of the thing; for certainly coming in that manner to give the lady notice of the approach of her end, and to counsel her to prepare accordingly, must be allowed to be an act of kindness, not of resentment, and a testimony of the affection that was between them; and therefore her taking it ill that she had not been to visit her in her illness, could not rationally be given as a reason for it.

But as to the apparition itself, since it could not be the soul of the deceased lady, and, for the reasons above, was not likely to be the Devil, or, I may venture to say positively, was not the Devil, what then was it? I answer with a question: what could it be but a good angel, or angelic spirit, from the invisible world, sent with a message of goodness, and a merciful notice of her approaching death; that she might receive a due caution, preparing her mind, and turning her thoughts to a proper meditation upon so serious a subject; in a word, warning her of death, that she might prepare for it?

The story of sir John Burroughs's son, who for-

saking a mistress in Italy she murdered herself, and then haunted him as long as he lived, this is of like kind with the rest; and though the Devil to worry and perplex him might take up the appearance of his whore, as well reproaching him with the crime, as with her tragical end; yet it goes no further than this, that the Devil may appear, and may harass and terrify those he appeared to; and this I make no doubt of, and it rather adds to what is insisted on, I mean the reality of apparitions; but the Devil gave this gentleman no good advice to repent or prepare, and the like; but only appeared, frightened, and terrified him, to the very day of his death.

It is also remarkable, that though this devil in apparition showed itself to him the very day of his death, (for he was killed that day in a duel,) yet it said not a word to him of what was to befall him, or of what he was going to do, and 'tis very probable did not know it.

There is another story something but darkly recorded of Charles VII. of France, which seems likely enough to be an apparition of the Devil. That king had been distempered and very ill two or three times, but was recovered again tolerably well, and was riding for the benefit of the air in the forest of Mans: on a sudden a spectre starts up or out of the woods, being a tall, meagre, ill-looking old man, of a ghastly countenance and half naked, and coming directly to the king takes hold of his horse's bridle, and says, Stop, king, whither go you? you are betrayed; and then immediately vanished. Now first of all, this was a falsehood in fact, for the king was not betrayed by anybody; neither was there any plot against him, or against any that belonged to him, ever heard of before, or afterwards; on the contrary, secondly, his reign was at that time peaceable and quiet, his subjects all easy; and for his person, he had so few enemies that he was called

Charles the Beloved, and was exceedingly tendered by the generality of his people.

A good spirit, an angelic spirit, one of the sacred guard I have supposed to be placed about this earth, or in the regions adjacent, and employed by their bountiful Maker for the good of mankind, would never have come in such a manner, surprising, and at unawares. It would never have put on a fierce and frightful countenance, thus to have terrified a poor distempered prince, whose brain was already disordered; taking the advantage of his weakness, and so to increase the frenzy and distraction of his mind even to his destruction, for he never more perfectly recovered his senses.

This mightily differed from the conduct of the several spirits appearing in the examples mentioned before, and who kindly warned the persons of danger, foretold events that they might avoid them, or prepare for the consequences; in a word, this was an apparition purely devilish, for it was merely to do evil, and to the ruin of the person to whom it appeared.

I think nothing can be a juster rule for us to distinguish apparitions by: the evil spirit, devil like, comes to deceive, he is the father of lies; and comes to do hurt, he is a lover and the author of mischief. The good spirit is from God, the fountain of all good, and appears always for good and merciful purposes; and this I think is a just observation, and a rule for us to judge of the nature of whatever apparitions we hear of.

CHAP. X.

Of the different nature of apparitions; how we should behave to them; when to be afraid of or concerned about them, and when not.

DANGER may be the reason of caution; but guilt only is the reason of fear. Caution is the mind's just regard to the evil in view; but fear is a horror of the soul, in apprehension of some further evil yet out of view; unseen, and therefore terrible; merited, and therefore dreadful.

If there were no guilt in the mind, death itself would be no evil, and therefore not the subject of our fear; nor is death itself our fear now, as it is in itself a mere passing out of life, otherwise than as it is an inlet of some terrible state beyond it. It is not what we pass out of, that is the bitterness, but what we pass into; not what we part with, but what the exchange will be; not the leap out of light, but the leap into the dark: and to come nearer to it, the thought of what is beyond death is only made better or worse by what we know on this side of it; the dread of what is to come, is founded on our conscientious sense of what is past.

This state beyond death is made our terror, as we expect in it the punishment of offences, a retribution for an ill-spent life, and as we have upon our minds a sense of guilt; that is to say, a conscience of having ill-spent our past time, and dreading the justice of the superior hand, in whom is the power of rewards and punishments. Now to bring it to the case in hand.

All apparition is looked upon as a something

coming, or sent to us, from that state of being which is beyond death, and therefore is looked upon with the same terror and fright which we are seized with at the thoughts of death itself.

Hence if we could consider calmly the nature of the apparition which we see, we might presently know whether we had reason to be terrified at the apparition, yea, or no: if the apparition comes with a message of peace, if it reprehends with kindness and tenderness, if it admonishes with gentleness, and gives advice to amend and reform, it certainly comes from a good hand, and we need be under no concern at all about it, because it has no evil in itself.

If it come in all its threatening postures, ghastly as the Devil can make it, horrible as himself in person; yet were there no guilt there would be no fear from the apparition, or even from the Devil appearing in person; because we should know ourselves to be out of his power.

As then the good or evil of the message, which the apparition brings, distinguishes the apparition itself, and tells us of what kind it is; so, as our minds are or are not intimidated by our own guilt, so we have or have not reason to be surprised at the appearance of a messenger, or messengers, from the invisible world, or at whatever he shall say.

Hic murus aheneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nullâ palescere culpâ.

Mr. Aubery gives us the story in his *Miscellanea* of the apparition to Cashio Burroughs, esq., in the time of king Charles I. and which I hinted at just now on another occasion; the story is as follows:

“Sir John Burroughs being sent envoy to the emperor by king Charles I., did take his eldest son Cashio Burroughs along with him; and taking his journey through Italy, left his said son at Florence,

to learn the language; where he having an intrigue with a beautiful courtesan, mistress to the grand duke, their familiarity became so public, that it came to the duke's ear, who took a resolution to have him murdered; but Cashio having had timely notice of the duke's design, by some of the English there, immediately left the city without acquainting his mistress of it, and came to England. Whereupon the duke being disappointed of his revenge, fell upon his mistress in most reproachful language: she, on the other side, resenting the sudden departure of her gallant, of whom she was most passionately enamoured, killed herself. At the same moment that she expired she did appear to Cashio at his lodgings in London. Colonel Remes was then in bed with him, who saw her as well as he, giving him an account of her resentments of his ingratitude to her, in leaving her so suddenly, and exposing her to the fury of the duke; not omitting her own tragical exit; adding withal, that he should be slain in a duel; which accordingly happened: and thus she appeared to him frequently, even when his younger brother (who afterwards was sir John) was in bed with him. As often as she did appear he would cry out with great shrieking and trembling of his body, as well as anguish of mind, saying, O God! here she comes, she comes! and at this rate she appeared till he was killed. She appeared to him the morning before he was killed. Some of my acquaintance (says Aubery) have told me, that he was one of the handsomest men in England, and very valiant."

The appearance of this devil, for I can call it no other, had nothing in view but to harass, plague, and affright the gentleman: perhaps expecting it should bring him into some fit of desperation; so to destroy himself, as the woman who appeared had done before.

The gentleman whom it appeared to, was conscious of crime; the woman in whose shape the Devil thus harassed him was a courtesan, that is, in English, a common woman, with whom he had had an intrigue in Italy: he had not only been dishonest with her, but it seems had been dishonest to her; and the last, with the assistance of the Devil, had, it seems, worked so upon her rage, as to cause her to be her own executioner; and I take the apparition to be the Devil pursuing the same management, and endeavouring to produce the same effect upon him.

Now see the consequence of crime: the sense of guilt makes this apparition dreadful to him; when it appeared, he trembles, falls into convulsions, cries out, O God! here she comes! and, in a word, is in an agony of horror and affright.

Had he only conversed with the lady as a common acquaintance, had he neither been concerned with her, or had done any dishonourable thing by her, he had natural courage to have looked the devil in the face, and boldly have asked what business she could have with him.

I have read of a story of a very religious lady, who the Devil, it seems, had some particular pique at, and set all his stratagems at work to ruin her, both soul and body. He attacked her in a hundred several ways in covert, as I may call it, that is to say, by attempts to draw her into crime, alluring her, and laying snares for her of several kinds. But when he found himself steadily resisted by the lady's resolved virtue, modesty, and temperance, he attacked her in person with frightful apparitions, assuming ugly and terrible shapes; and once appearing all in fire, with a frightful threatening voice, he told her he was come to fetch her away: the lady had a secret spirit of courage and resolution came upon her at the very moment, and, as we say in

other cases, brisking up to him as if she would fight him; Resist the Devil, says she, and he shall flee from us! come for me! added she, I'll venture that! for I am sure thou liest, Satan, thou hast nothing to do with me.

The Devil called her whore, and told her she loved such a man, who was a married man, and therefore she had intentionally committed whoredom with him, and should be damned.

(It seems the lady had loved that gentleman before he was otherwise engaged by marrying; but had never had any thought towards him, or the least acquaintance with him afterwards.)

Thou showest thyself, says she, to be full of subtlety, a real devil, and even malice itself: it is true, I did love that gentleman, says she, and thou settedst him to work to persuade me that he loved me, and to court me with honourable pretensions, and so far gained upon me, that I really loved him; but —

Here he interrupted her, and told her, Such a time, says the Devil, you wished you were a-bed with him, and you are as guilty by wishing to sin, as if you had done it.

Thou art the father of lies, Satan, says she, and the father of liars, and thou liest in this; nay, thou liest like a devil, that is maliciously, for thou knowest that it is not true.

You will be damned, says he, and I will take you away this minute.

Thou canst not take me away without God's permission, says she, and he will not give me into thy hands; therefore touch me at thy peril: and with that she fell down on her knees, and cried, Lord, preserve me from the evil spirit: with which the Devil left her, and walked off.

These are apparitions that may be called apparitions of devils indeed, and by his works you may

know him, for this is acting like himself: but where there is no guilt we need not be afraid of the Devil, in whatever shape or frightful figure he thinks to attack us in.

This lady had never been able to reproach Satan with lying, if what he said had been true; but she knew herself innocent, and that put courage into her soul, that she indeed bullied the Devil, defied him, and bade him do his worst.

It seems the Devil rummaged hard to find a crime out to charge this lady with, and came up to her very close; but he was put to his shifts for evidence; for even in collecting all the actions of her life, he could not find anything of real guilt to load her with.

He attacked her after this in several shapes, and one time he told her she would be damned for a hypocrite; For, says he, for all your pretended sanctity you was in a violent passion at such a time, and you cursed your cousin ——; naming her name to her.

She answered, as before, boldly; And Satan, says she, though you are a devil, and cannot be ashamed, yet you are too cunning and too knowing to act like a fool; I was angry, but in no passion; and for my anger I had just cause; but thou wast the cause of the crime, and so of the anger too: (for she owned the Devil tempted her kinswoman to rob her;) so thou hast been the occasion both of her sin, and of my anger.

But you cursed her, and wished the Devil (meaning me, says he) might take her.

That's like thee again, Devil, says the lady; I was far from wishing thou shouldst take her, I am not so much thy friend to wish thou shouldst be gratified in any one's ruin. But I told her, indeed, if she did such things, thou wouldst take her away.

But you lied in that, says he, for I won't hurt her.

I am sorry, says she, thou art so much her friend.

She is mine already, adds the Devil, I shall not do her any harm.

Very well, Devil, says she ; then I hope I am out of your list, or why else are you raging at me ?

Yes, yes, says he, you shall be mine quickly, as well as she.

I defy thee, says she again, and I'll tell the poor girl what you say of her. I hope she will get out of your hands again.

Then I'll break her neck that minute, says he.

That's not in your power, says the lady.

Well, but, says he, you played at cards on Sunday morning last.

She was a little surprised at the charge, and stopped awhile ; but recovering her courage, 'Tis strange, Devil, says she, thou canst bring nothing but lies against me ; why, I have faults enough, that are real faults, and true, and that I could not deny. Why, I think Satan's turned fool, adds she, as if she jeered him. Why don't you fall upon me in those things I am guilty of, and not make lies for the sake of lying ? I did play at cards a Saturday night, but not a Sunday morning.

But, said he, you played at cards against your conscience too, when you believed it was a sin to play, and you will be damned for that.

Why truly, Devil, says she, you go nearest the truth in this, of anything you have said ; for after our minister's talking against play, one evening, he so far persuaded me that it was not lawful, that I did resolve to leave it off.

But you broke your word, and played again ; and did it, I tell you, against your conscience.

I did not tie myself by any promise, but I did

question a little, indeed, whether I should play any more or no.

Yes, and did it against your conscience, I tell you, and you shall be damned for that.

Here the lady could not refrain tears; but still she answered the Devil boldly, As thou art a liar, Satan, I hope I shall not, because thou sayest I shall. However, thou shalt never have it to upbraid me with again; for though I did never promise to man, I now promise it to the Devil, I will never play more.

It's too late now, says he, and threatened her again.

No, Satan, says she, never too late for any one to repent, but thee; and thou shalt never repent, or be forgiven.

With this, says my story, the Devil left her. I have taken this, by abridgment, from a very large account of the several disputes this courageous lady had with the Devil for some years; which if I could assert the particulars so as to be sure of the truth of every part, and of my own knowledge too, I should make further use of here; but thus far they are to the present occasion, namely,

1. That where the Devil appears, he always does it like a devil, for some wicked purpose or other.

2. Where he cannot prevail and excite to do mischief, he assaults with rage, and threatens with suffering mischief.

The good spirits or good angels are quite of another kind; and as they come, or are sent from other hands, so they come of other errands, and in another manner, as I shall give a more particular account of presently.

But let us from hence inquire into an opinion which I have met with, and that of some men of learning and judgment, viz., that take the apparitions in general, whether of good or bad spirits,

they never, or very rarely, do any harm. As for the good spirits, we know, as above, they will do none; and if the bad do not, it is because they cannot.

The good spirits, it is certain, will do no harm; it is by their general appearing for good, that we determine them to be good spirits; and that kind of judgment is certainly very just: but if the evil spirits, which do appear, do no harm neither, it is because they are under some extraordinary restraint of divine power; so that though they may come about in the air, they are not suffered to do any considerable mischief in the world. In both which cases all the occasion of our terror about them is taken away; for whether they are good spirits, or evil spirits restrained, it is much the same; one will do you no hurt, and the other cannot; and there remains no room then for the panic which is so much upon us when we hear of them.

It is true that angels have sometimes been sent in judgment from heaven, and have executed God's terrible threatenings upon men in an apparent shape; as the angel, called the destroying angel, which David saw in the air, with his sword drawn and stretched over Jerusalem to destroy it, 1 Chron. xxi. 15. So the angel of the Lord that slew one hundred and eighty thousand of the Assyrians in one night; and it is not improbable that an host of angels or apparitions appeared in the Assyrian camp, and cut in pieces the Assyrian army, with a terror that they were not able to resist.

These are extraordinary and miraculous cases; so likewise is that when the angel appeared to Balaam with a flaming sword, and told him that if the ass had not turned away from him, he, the angel, had slain him, Numb. xxii. 33. But we are not now speaking of angels sent out with especial commissions to execute God's vengeance, but of the

apparition of good spirits or angels from the invisible world of spirits, who frequently appear, and sometimes upon small and very trifling occasions, and who visit people as well by night as by day; this we call walking, and apparition, and this is such as is the subject of our present inquiry.

Of these it is that I say, however they may disturb us, and however terrified we are about them, they very rarely do any harm.

I have heard of an apparition which came to a farmer in Surry, and threatened him that he would burn his house and his barn, and all his corn and hay; what his pretences were the story does not relate, or what the poor farmer had done to disoblige him; but the man was, it seems, in the utmost consternation, and expostulated with the apparition a great while; but at last he plucked up his spirits, and spoke with a little more courage to it.

What art thou, says he, that threatenest me thus without a cause, and sayest thou wilt ruin me, notwithstanding I never did thee any wrong? thou shouldst be the Devil, by thy usage of me, for good spirits never do any injustice.

To this the Devil answered in a long, and to appearance a threatening speech, but in a language the poor man did not understand one word of.

I know not what thou sayest, says the farmer, but I tell thee again thou seemest to me to be the Devil, or one of his angels, and I suppose those are words understood in the bottomless pit; but threaten me no more with thy rage, and with burning my house and corn; thou art a great dragon indeed, but thou art chained, and canst do nothing but what thou art permitted to do by thy Maker, and I fear thee not. Upon which the poor man prayed mentally that he might be delivered from the power of the Devil, and away run the spectre, and did him no harm.

This was certainly a commendable courage, and had something of the Christian in it too : and such a courage, and upon the like foundation, would, for aught I know, lay all the devils that ever walked, and drive away all the apparitions and spirits that people are so terribly haunted with, and so terrified about.

CHAP. XI.

Of apparitions in dreams, and how far they are or are not real apparitions.

THERE may be dreams without apparition, as there may be apparitions without dreams ; but apparition in dream may be as really an apparition as if the person who saw it was awake : the difference may be here, that the apparition in a dream is visible to the soul only, for the soul never sleeps ; and an apparition to the eyesight is visible in common perspective.

How is it then that we see in our dreams the very faces and dress of the person we dream of ; nay, hear their voices, and receive due impressions from what they say, and oftentimes speak to them with our own voices articulately and audibly, though we are fast asleep ? what secret power of the imagination is able to represent the image of any person to itself, if there was not some appearance, something placed in the soul's view, by a secret, but invisible hand, and in an imperceptible manner ? which something is in all respects, and to all purposes, as completely an apparition, as if it was placed in open sight when the person was awake.

The Scripture confirms this opinion by many expressions directly to the purpose, and particularly this of appearing, or apparition in dream. Gen. xx. 3. *God came to Abimelech in a dream* ; had it been said that Abimelech dreamed that God came to him, there might have been some exception to the parallel ; but God actually came to him : and what though Abimelech was asleep, and in a dream ? it was not the less an apparition, *for God came to him, and*

spoke, and said to him : and in the 4th verse Abimelech spoke to the apparition. Whatever the shape was, that the text does not mention ; but Abimelech knew who he talked with too, that's evident, for the text mentions it fully, *And he said, Lord, wilt thou slay also a righteous nation ?* and so he goes on, verse the fifth, to expostulate and plead for himself and his people, *Said he not unto me, She is my sister ?* so that he knew he was speaking to the Lord. The text is very remarkable, it is plain that there was an apparition, but the man was asleep and in a dream.

Again, in the case of Laban pursuing Jacob, Gen. xxxi. 24. *God came to Laban the Syrian in a dream by night, and said unto him.* Here again is an apparition, and a speaking apparition too ; God came to him, and God spoke to him ; and Laban owns, not that he dreamed of God's appearing, but that God really spoke to him, ver. 29. *The God of your father spake to me yesternight, saying.*

Certainly dreams in those days were another kind of thing than they are now. God spoke to them, and they answered ; and when they were awake they knew that it was God that spoke, and gave heed to the vision or apparition of God to them.

There are many more instances of the like in the sacred history ; as first in the remarkable case of king Solomon, 1 Kings iii. 5. *The Lord appeared to Solomon in a dream by night, and God said, Ask what I shall give thee.*

This is called in the Scripture a dream, ver. 15. *And Solomon awoke, and behold it was a dream ;* and yet it is all confirmed ; and the petition that Solomon made, though in his sleep, or dream, is accepted and answered as his real act and deed, as if he had been awake. A good hint, by the way, that we may both please and offend in our dreams, as really as if we were awake ; but that is a hint, I say, by itself.

That passage of Solomon is very remarkable to the case in hand. If my readers please to believe that there was such a man as Solomon, and that he had such a dream, they must allow also that it was a real apparition; God appeared to him in a dream.

To bring it down a step lower; as God has thus personally appeared to men in dreams, so have inferior spirits, and we have examples of this too in the Scripture. Matt. 1. 20. *While he thought on these things, behold the angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream:* and again Matt. ii. 13. *Behold the angel of the Lord appeared unto Joseph in a dream, saying:* and a third time it is repeated, the angel came again to him in Egypt, ver. 19. of the same chapter; *When Herod was dead, behold an angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt.*

I will for once suppose, that no man need desire any further evidence than these for the reality of the thing itself; we may bring it down from hence by just parallels to matters within our own reach, experience will furnish us with particular passages sufficient; and some account I shall give you within the compass of our own times; in which, if I do as much as possible, as I have done all along, omit all those accounts which others have published, referring you to those publications for the particulars, and only give you new and more modern accounts, such as come within the verge of my own knowledge, or of the knowledge of such as I have good reason to give credit to; I believe the variety will be as acceptable, and much more useful than a bare repeating of what others have said. If I find it needful to quote what others have published, you shall have it justly marked as a quotation, that you may search for the truth in its original.

But before I come to quotation, or to collection of

story, it is needful to observe here also, that as it has pleased God to appear in this manner, and to cause angels to appear also in the same manner, and upon special occasions, so I make no question but the Devil often appears in dreams too: and I might give but too many examples of it, as particularly one in the Scripture.

It is apparent that God gave Satan a kind of general license to afflict Job, only not to kill him; with such a terrible commission it might be expected the Devil would fall upon him with the utmost fury he was capable of, or at least that he was allowed to take; he ruined his fortunes, reduced him to misery, murdered his children, tormented him with boils and sores; in short, left him nothing but potsherds, and an ill wife, to relieve him; and as he had worried him, to use a modern phrase, within an inch of his life, he followed him in the night with apparition, lest he should recruit nature with rest, and be a little refreshed with sleep. Job himself complains of it; Job vii. 14, *Thou scarest me with dreams, and terrifiest me with visions.* Not that God appeared to Job in any frightful or terrible form; but the Devil, to whom God was pleased to give a liberty of afflicting Job, took that liberty, and exerted his malice to the utmost in such a manner. We are not indeed told what methods the Devil took to scare and terrify that poor distressed sufferer; but as he can show us nothing uglier and more frightful than himself, so it is very likely he appeared to him in person, and that in the most surprising manner possible, with all the circumstances of horror that he was able.

It is thought by some, who critically note that part of the text where Pilate's wife warned her husband to have nothing to do in condemning Christ to be crucified, that it was the Devil that stirred her up to oppose it. Satan, as soon as he perceived that the death of Christ, however intended for mischief

by the Jews, and pursued violently by them in their rage and malice at our Lord personally, was yet a thing appointed by the determinate counsel of God, for the salvation of mankind ; I say, as soon as he perceived that part, which it is probable he did not know before, he strove all he could to prevent it ; and as fierce as he had been to irritate the Jews before, and raise their fury and malice up to a pitch, even to almost caballing the governor into it, now he underhand strove to prevent it, and used this stratagem among others, by attacking Pilate's wife in the night, and setting her to persuade her husband that he was going to deliver up an innocent person to gratify the Jews ; and that he should have a care what he did, Matt. xxvii. 19. *When he was set down on the judgment-seat, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man : for I have suffered many things this day in a dream, because of him.*

Whether it was so or not, it is very probable the many things she suffered must be from the Devil ; because Heaven, by whose determinate counsel and foreknowledge the death of Christ was appointed, would have done nothing to have prevented or interrupted his own appointment.

Now as the dreams in those days, and our dreams at this time, are exceeding different ; and that as our heads are so full of impertinent thoughts in the day, which in proportion crowd the imagination at night, so our dreams are trifling and foolish ; how shall we do to know when they are to be taken notice of, and when not ? when there is a real apparition haunting us, or showing itself to us, and when not ? in a word, when an angel, or when a devil, appears to us in a dream ?

It is a nice question, and as it does not particularly relate to the present inquiry, so it would require too long a digression to discourse critically

upon it : but I shall dismiss it with this short answer ; We must judge, as I said before in the case of open apparitions, by the weight, and by the nature of the message or errand which the apparition comes about ; evil messengers seldom come of good errands, and angels good or bad seldom come on trifling messages.

Trifling dreams are the product of the mind being engaged in trifling matters ; a child dreams of its play, a housewife dreams of her kitchen, a nurse of the children, a tradesman of his shop ; these have nothing of apparition in them ; nothing of angels or spirits, God or devil ; but when dream comes up to vision, and the soul is embarked in a superior degree, to a commerce above the ordinary rate, then you may conclude you have had some extraordinary visiters, that you have been in some good or bad company in the night, and you are left to judge of what kind, by the substance or tenor of the vision. If it be to open the understanding, to increase knowledge, to seal instruction ; in a word, if it is for direction to good actions, or stirring up the soul of man to perform his duty to God or man, it is certainly from above ; it is an apparition from God, it is a vision of angels and good spirits. Job xxxiii. 15. *In a dream, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon men, in slumberings upon the bed.*

If it be an allurements to vice, laying before you an opportunity to steal, presenting an object of beauty, an enticement to commit an unlawful action ; depend upon it it is from the dark regions, it is an apparition of the Devil, and he employs his agents and perhaps attends in person to draw you into mischief.

N. B. Here it is worth a wise man's considering, whether the Devil representing a temptation to any person in a dream, and the person complying, he is not guilty of the fact as really as if he had been.

awake ; I leave it only as a head of reflection : for example,

The Devil, subtle in his contrivance, as well as vigilant in application of circumstances, knows a man to be in perplexed circumstances, distressed for want of money, a perishing family, a craving necessity ; he comes in his sleep and presents him with a little child dressed up with jewels of a great value, and a purse of gold in its hand, and all this as happening in a place perfectly opportune for the purpose, the nurse having negligently left the child out of her sight.

As he presents the temptation, he stands at the person's elbow ; prompts him ; says, Take away that chain or string of pearl, and the purse, the child is alone, it can tell no tales, take it quickly ; are not you in distress, and do you not want it at this time to an extremity, and can any one ever discover it ? the child's friends are rich, it will do them no hurt ; if they valued such things, they would never have put them about a little child, it is no great matter to them ; besides it is due to their vanity and ostentation, which was the only reason of dressing up a little child in such a manner. Come, come, take it up quickly, it may save you from ruin, and as soon as you are able, you may make them satisfaction again, and so discharge your conscience. The man, unable to resist the snare, consents, strips the innocent child of its ornaments, and goes away unseen ; but in a moment or two wakes with the surprise, sees it is a cheat, and looks back on it with a double regret. 1st, That he is disappointed of the prize which he wanted, and fancied himself relieved by. 2ndly, That the Devil triumphs over him, and he is both deluded into the crime, and deceived in the expectation of its reward.

I could give this in the form of a relation of fact, and give evidence of the truth of it ; for I had the

account of it from the person's own lips, who was attacked in sleep, and (as he said with a sincere affliction) yielded to the temptation; and I committed the barbarous robbery, said he, with the utmost resentment; I plundered and stripped the poor smiling infant, who innocently played with me when I took off its ornaments, gave me the purse of gold out of its little pocket, and bid me keep it for her to play with. I robbed it, says he, in my imagination, and deserve as much to be hanged for it, as if I had actually committed the horrid fact at noon-day; Ay, says he, with a kind of tremor in his conscience from the horror of the fact, I ought to be hanged for it, and to be damned for it too, for I as really and effectually did it, as if I had been apprehended and carried to Newgate for it.

It is true it gave him a particular satisfaction with respect to his personal safety, that he had not committed the fact; but it gave him no less trouble in his conscience, than if he had been actually guilty.

What was this but an apparition of the Devil, a real, visible apparition; visible to the mind, though not to the body? and that in a double capacity too, the Devil without in the temptation, and the Devil within yielding to it.

I know another living example of this kind, and I had that part too from the person himself: he was a sober, religious gentleman; he was, in the letter of it, a single man; for though he had been unhappily married, he lived in a separate state from his wife, and, to say no more of it, upon a justifiable occasion, namely, that his wife was wickedly gone away, as he supposed, with another man.

Before he was married to the unhappy woman, he had loved a very handsome, beautiful lady, and had gone so far as to court her a long time for marriage; but some difficulty in their circumstances

prevented their coming together, and he took another, which the first lady resented so, as that it cost her too dear, for she died soon after.

The affliction of this was very heavy to him, after he found himself abused in his real marriage, as above. I say after, for at first, it seems, it was not. Under the melancholy reflections of these contrary circumstances, which frequently loaded his mind, he dreams one night that his former mistress came to him with a smiling countenance; I might have expressed it rather, that his former mistress appeared to him in a dream, and with a smiling, cheerful countenance, told him that his runaway wife was dead; And now you are mine, says the apparition. He received the news with a particular satisfaction, and embraced the lady, as his former inclinations dictated to him; he had not the least notion, as he protested solemnly, or the least remembrance that she was dead.

When he awaked, and found it all a dream, he was exceedingly afflicted with the surprise, looking upon himself to be as really guilty as if he had been awake, and the lady alive; and I cannot but say he had some reason.

Whether this, if really true, could be anything but an apparition of an evil spirit, the Devil laying a snare for him, and prevailing with him in dream, in a manner, and to commit a crime which he could not prevail with him to be guilty of when she was alive.

I could give an account of another person whom the Devil haunted frequently, and that for many years together, with lewd apparitions; tempting him in his sleep with the company of beautiful women, sometimes naked, sometimes even in bed with him, and at other times in conversation prompting him to wickedness; and that sometimes he was prevailed upon to consent, but always happily prevented

by waking in time: but the case has, on two or three occasions, been mentioned by other hands, and the person is too much known to allow the further description of it without his consent.

I cannot doubt but these things are stated formal apparitions of the Devil; and though the person may be asleep, and not thoroughly sensible either of what he is doing, or of what is doing with him, yet that the evil spirit is actually present with him in apparition I think will not admit of any question.

The world is too full of examples of this kind to enter into a long account of the particulars. There is hardly a book upon the subject but is filled up with historical relations; hardly a person to be conversed with upon the subject, but is full of them, either for themselves or some of their acquaintance; and every one is rendering their dreams to be considerable, and all to come to pass: but out of five hundred dreams so told, and which so much stress is seemingly laid on, it is hard to find one that we can call a real apparition in dream.

The great, and perhaps one of the greatest difficulties of life, I mean that relates to dreams, is to distinguish between such as are real apparitions, and such as are only the product of an encumbered brain, a distempered head, or, which is worse, a distempered mind; but some dreams are so significant, and there follows such an immediate visible effect, answering the designed illumination, that it cannot but be significant.

A certain gentleman who had lately buried his wife, a lady of great piety and virtue, was so exceedingly afflicted at his loss, that, among other melancholy things which were the effect of it, this was one, that he was so far from desiring to marry again, that he entertained a settled, riveted aversion to the whole sex, and was never thoroughly easy in their company; and thus he lived near two years.

After a certain time his wife appeared to him in his dream, or he dreamed that he saw his wife ; but I rather put it in the first sense : she came to him, as he thought, to the bed-side, with a smiling and pleasant countenance, and calling him by the term which she always gave him, My dearest.

He was in a great consternation, but could not speak to her ; but she said, Don't be afraid of me, I will do you no hurt ; and then said, What's the reason that you mourn thus for me ?

He still said nothing ; that is to say, he dreamed that he said nothing, but that he fetched a deep sigh.

Come, come, says she, friends lost are friends lost, and cannot be recalled.

Then he spoke, that is, dreamed that he spoke, and asked her why she appeared to him.

She said, to put an end to his unreasonable grief.

How can that be ? says he ; you now increase my grief, by bringing yourself thus to my remembrance.

No, no, says she, you must forget me, and pray take another wife, which will be the way to cause you to forget me effectually.

No, no, said he, that I can never do ; and how can you desire it of me ?

Yes, says she, I do desire it of you, and I come to direct you whom you shall have.

He desired she would talk no more to him ; for says he, you cannot be my wife ; it must be some evil spirit come to tempt me in such a shape, and to destroy me.

With that she seemed to weep, and to pity him.

He sighed again, and desired that, if she was able to retain any affection to him in the condition she was then in, that she would show it by coming no more to disorder him in that manner.

She said, Well, I will trouble you no more, if you listen to the directions I shall now give you, and will perform them.

What are they? says he.

On the first Wednesday in October, says she, you will be invited to dinner to such a house, there you will see a gentlewoman dressed in white sit over against you at the table; she shall be your wife, and she will be a kind mother to my children.

It seems she gave other particulars of the gentlewoman's dress, and in particular that she would drink to him; all which came to pass accordingly.

After she had said this, she disappeared; the story does not say she went away with a melodious sound, or with rich perfumes, or the like, as is pretended often in such-like cases; nor do I remember to have heard that he married the person, though he really saw her at the feast.

But the question from all this story is only this, viz., whether, supposing the case to be literally true, was this an apparition, or was it only a simple dream? I affirm it must be an apparition, that is to say, a spirit came to him in the person of, or personating his wife.

The following story I had from the mouth of the very person who was chiefly concerned in it, I mean the captain of the ship itself.

One captain Thomas Rogers, commander of a ship called the *Society*, was bound on a voyage from London to Virginia about the year 1694.

The ship was hired in London, and being sent light, as they call it, to Virginia for a loading of tobacco, had not many goods in her outward bound, suppose about two or three hundred ton, which was not counted a loading, or indeed half her loading; the ship being very large, above five hundred ton burden.

They had had a pretty good passage, and the day before had had an observation, whereupon the mates and proper officers had brought their books and cast up their reckonings with the captain, to see how near they were to the coasts of America; they all agreed that they were at least about an hundred leagues' distance from the capes of Virginia. Upon these customary reckonings, and withal heaving the lead, and finding no ground at an hundred fathom, they set the watch, and the captain turned in (as they call it at sea), that is, went to bed.

The weather was good, a moderate gale of wind, and blowing fair for the coast, so that the ship might have run about twelve or fifteen leagues in the night after the captain was in his cabin.

He fell asleep, and slept very soundly for about three hours, when he waked again, and lay till he heard his second mate turn out, and relieve the watch; and then he called his chief mate, as he was going off from the watch, and asked him how all things fared; who answered, that all was well, and the gale freshened, and they run at a great rate, but it was a fair wind and a fine clear night; so the captain went to sleep again.

About an hour after he had been asleep again, he dreamed that a man pulled him or waked him, and he did wake. I am not sure, but I think he said the thing that waked him bade him get up, that is, turn out and look abroad. But whether it was so or no, he lay still and composed himself to sleep, and dropped again, and suddenly awaked again, and thus several times; and though he knew nothing what was the reason, yet he found it was impossible for him to go to sleep, and still he heard the vision say, or thought he heard it say, Turn out, and look abroad.

He lay in this uneasiness near two hours, but at

last it increased so upon him, that he could lie no longer, but gets up, puts on his watch-gown, and comes out upon the quarter-deck; there he found his second mate walking about, and the boatswain upon the forecastle, the night fine and clear, a fair wind, and all well as before.

The mate wondering to see him, at first did not know him; but calling Who's there? the captain answered, and the mate returns, Who, the captain! what's the matter, sir?

Says the captain, I don't know, but I have been very uneasy these two hours, and somebody or my own fancy bid me turn out and look abroad, though I know not what can be the meaning of it.

There can be nothing in it, but some dream, says the mate.

Says the captain, How does the ship cape?

South-west-by-south, says the mate; fair for the coast, and the wind east-by-north.

That's all very good, says the captain; and so, after some other usual questions, he turned about to go back to his cabin; when, as if it had been somebody that stood by him had spoke, it came into his mind like a voice, Heave the lead, heave the lead!

Upon this he turns again to his second mate; Mate, says the captain, when did you heave the lead? what water had you?

About an hour ago, says the mate, sixty fathom.

Heave again, says the captain.

There's no manner of occasion, sir, says the mate; but if you please it shall be done.

I don't know, says the captain, it is needless indeed, I think; and so was going away again, but was, as it were, forced to turn back as before, and says to the mate, I know not what ails me, but I can't be easy; come, call a hand aft, and heave the lead.

Accordingly a hand was called, and the lead being cast or heaved, as they call it, they had ground at eleven fathom.

This surprised them all ; but much more when at the next cast it came up seven fathom.

Upon this the captain in a fright bade them put the helm a lee, and about ship, all hands being ordered to back the sails, as is usual in such cases.

The proper orders being obeyed, the ship stayed presently, and came about ; and when she was about, before the sails filled, she had but four fathoms and a half water under her stern ; as soon as she filled and stood off, they had seven fathom again, and at the next cast eleven fathom, and so on to twenty fathom ; so he stood off to seaward all the rest of the watch, to get into deep water, till daybreak ; when being a clear morning, there were the capes of Virginia and all the coast of America in fair view under their stern, and but a very few leagues' distance : had they stood on but one cable's length further, as they were going, they had been bump ashore (so the sailors call it) and had certainly lost their ship, if not their lives.

Now, what could this be ? Not the Devil, that we may vouch for him, he would hardly be guilty of doing so much good ; hardly an angel sent from heaven express, that we dare not presume ; but that it was the work of a waking providence, by some invisible agent employed for that occasion, who took sleep from the captain's eyes, as once in a case of infinitely more importance was done to king Ahasuerus ; this we may conclude. Had the captain slept as usual, and as nature required, they had been all lost ; the shore being flat at a great distance, and, as I suppose, the tide low, the ship had been aground in an instant, and the sea, which run high, would have broke over her, and soon have dashed her in pieces.

How it happened that the mates and other navigators on board (for it being a very great ship, they had several experienced men among them) should all of them have kept, and yet all be out in their reckoning, and that so much as to think themselves an hundred leagues from the coast, when they were not above twenty or twenty-five, that was to be accounted for among themselves; but certain it was, that if it had not been for thus being waked and jogged in the night, and kept awake too in spite of his own drowsiness, the captain had lain still, and the whole ship's company been in the utmost hazard.

If this was not an apparition, it must be what the Scripture calls it in another case, *being warned of God in a dream*; which by the way is the same thing; but here was something more than being warned, for the captain owned he was in no dream. He dreamed nothing at all, much less anything of danger; he went to his bed or cabin with all the prudent caution that any man in that important trust of a ship in the ocean could do; and then after having made their calculations, cast up their reckonings, set their watch, and made everything sure, he laid down with all the satisfaction that it was possible for any man in a like case to have.

To any men that understand the sea affairs, this case will be more feelingly and sensibly read; they will be more touched with the surprise the ship's company must be all in, to see themselves just running aground, when they believed themselves a hundred leagues from the shore; to find themselves within two inches of death, when they believed themselves as safe as a ship at sea with a moderate gale and a fair wind could be supposed to be.

And how will those modern wits, of which our age is so full, account for this, who allow no God or Providence, no invisible world, no angelic, kind

and waking spirits, who, by a secret correspondence with our embodied spirits, give merciful hints to us of approaching mischiefs and impending dangers, and that timely, so as to put the means into our hands to avoid and escape them?

Which way will such men solve the main difficulty in such a case as this, viz., what this should be? Will they resolve it all into fortuitous chance, mere accident, a mere circulation of things in the ordinary course; as they say shoals are raised to bar up a haven? which they tell us, is nothing but the sand and stones driven down the stream of a river, which lodge here or there, as their own weight, or the abating force of the water, or this or that eddy and counter-stream checks them, so deepening one channel where it was shoal, and choking up another where it was deep, and all by mere accident: but this is very gross arguing.

It were easy to confute these weak pretences to chance and incident, and to show the necessity of an intelligent being; but that is not my work: I am not upon the reality of such an intelligent being, but the reality of its ordinary and extraordinary actings, the agents it employs, and the manner of their executing the commissions they receive; which it is evident they faithfully perform, and effectually too; sometimes by one method, sometimes by another, and particularly by this of apparition, as well to the eyes of the soul, as to the eye of the body, sleeping or waking it is the same.

Our friends the critics may stumble here, perhaps, at the seeming contradiction in the terms, as particularly this of invisible apparition. But it is easily solved, by answering that it is but a seeming contradiction, for both the apparitions are visible, only not to the same optic powers; the apparition in dream is visible to the intellectual sight, to the eye of the soul; and the daylight apparition is visi-

ble to the common ordinary sight : and you have an expression in the Scripture often made use of, which gives an unquestioned authority for this way of speaking.

The expressing things dreamed of, as things seen, is very frequent in the sacred text. Jacob dreamed a dream about Laban's cattle, Gen. xxxi. 10. where it is thus expressed, *and I saw in a dream*. Again, Daniel vii. 1, 2. *Daniel had a dream, and visions of his head upon his bed: v. 2. and I saw in my vision by night: v. 7. after this I saw in the night visions, and, behold, a fourth beast: and v. 13. I saw in the night visions, and, behold ;* and besides this, we have the same way of speaking ten or eleven times in the same chapter, and as many or more times in the next.

It is the like in relating the dreams of Pharaoh, and of Nebuchadnezzar, or the apparitions rather which appeared to those kings in dreams. *Pharaoh says to Joseph, Gen. xli. 17, 18, 19, In my dream, I stood upon the bank of the river, and, behold, there came up ;* that is the same thing as, *I saw them come up: v. 19. And, behold, seven other kine came up,* or, *I saw seven other kine come up*. So that an apparition in dream is visible to the soul; the imagination sees, though the eyes of the body are closed.

This digression is owing to the nice judgment of our critics, whose exactness you see I mightily reverence, and am wonderful careful not to fall under their dreadful hands, in a thing so essential to my subject; as for trifles, I leave them to trifle with them to the utmost of their more malicious impotence.

But I come now to another relation of fact, which also I take upon me to vouch the reality of, having been present, at the very instant, of every part of it.

A person, whose name it is not so proper to mention here, but who may be produced if there should be occasion, being still living, was under the disaster, about the year 1701, to fall under a party censure, (the occasion is needless to the present case.) In hopes, upon the recess of the house, which was not far off, he should, as is usual, be at liberty, he withdrew himself, and avoided being taken up as much as he could; but the house resenting it, a vote was passed, ordering the secretary of state to prosecute him at law; which obliged him to resolve to leave the kingdom, and in the mean time to conceal himself with more exactness, the government having issued out a proclamation for apprehending him, with a reward to the person who should discover where he was, so as he might be taken.

In order to conceal himself more effectually, he left his lodging where he had been hid for some time, and removed to Barnet on the edge of Hertfordshire; intending, as soon as he had settled some family affairs, to go away north into Scotland: but before he went away he was obliged to come once more to London, to sign some writings for the securing some estate, which it was feared might be seized by outlaw, if the prosecution had gone on so far.

The night before he had appointed to come to London, as above, being in bed with one Mr R——D——, he dreamed that he was in his lodgings at London, where he had been concealed as above, and in his dream he saw two men come to the door, who said they were messengers, and produced a warrant from the secretary of state to apprehend him, and that accordingly they seized upon and took him.

The vision surprised and waked him, and he waked Mr. D——, his brother-in-law, who was in

bed with him, and told him the dream, and what a surprise he was in about it. Mr. D——, seeing it was but a dream, advised him to give no heed to it, but compose himself, and go to sleep again; and he did so.

As soon as he was fast asleep again, he was waked again with the same dream, exactly as before: and he awaked his brother again, as before. It disturbed them both very much; but being heavy to sleep, they both went to sleep again, and dreamed no more. It is to be observed, that he saw the very men that apprehended him, their countenances, clothes, weapons, &c., and described them in the morning to his said brother, D——, in all the particulars.

However, the call to go to London being, as he thought, urgent, he got ready in the morning to go, resolving to stay but one day, and then set forward for Scotland. Accordingly he went for London in the morning, and, that he might not be known, walked it on foot, that so he might go by more private ways over Enfield-chace, and so to Southgate, Hornsey, &c.

All the way as he walked, his mind was heavy and oppressed; and he frequently said to his brother, who walked with him, that he was certain he was going to London to be surprised; and so strong was the foreboding impression upon his mind, that he once stopped at Hornsey, and endeavoured to get a lodging, intending to send his brother to London to see if nothing had happened there to give him any alarm.

As he had just secured a convenient lodging, he accidentally saw a gentleman standing at the next door, whom he knew very well, but durst not venture to trust on that occasion; and finding on inquiry that he dwelt there, he concluded that was no place for him, and so resolved to go forwards.

The impression upon his mind continuing, he stopped again at Islington, and endeavoured to get a lodging there, but could not; so at last, when his brother brought him word he could not get a lodging, except where it was too public, Well, says he, then I must go to London, and take what follows; or to that purpose; and accordingly did go, and the next morning was taken by the messengers, just in the very manner as he had been told in his dream, and the very same two men whose faces he had seen, and with the same clothes on, and weapons, exactly as he had described.

This story I had from his own mouth, and confirmed by Mr. R—— D——, his brother-in-law, to whom he related his vision at the very moment of it, as above.

I refer it to any impartial judgment to weigh every circumstance of this account, the truth of which I have not the least reason to question, and to tell me by what powers, and from what influence could these things be performed, if there were no invisible world, and no inhabitants there, who concerned themselves with our affairs; no good spirits which conversed with our embodied spirits, and gave us due intelligence, notice, and warning of approaching danger?

If there is any difficulty in this case, it seems to me to be in the event of the thing, as in the case mentioned: why was not the intelligence made so complete, so forcible, and the impression so plain, that the person in whose favour it was all done might have been effectually alarmed, his going forward stopped, and consequently the mischief which was at hand, and which he had the notice of, effectually prevented?

It is not indeed so easy to answer that part; but it may be resolved into this, that the fault seems to be our own, that we do not give due attention to

such notice, as might be sufficient to our deliverance. If an enemy be at hand, and the out-sentinel fires his piece, he does his duty ; if the whole camp does not take the alarm, but are surprised, the fault is their own, the man did all that was to be expected from him ; nor do the officers or generals slight the notice, and say, 'tis nothing but a sorry fellow shot off his musket, and so take no more heed to it.

On the contrary, they conclude the sentinel is posted upon duty ; he would not fire his piece without a sufficient cause, and give a false alarm to the camp for nothing ; there must be something extraordinary, and accordingly they order the drums to beat, and immediately call to arms.

Thus, if the invisible spirits give a due alarm, they do their part ; if they jog us, and awaken us in a deep sleep, and pull us again and again, and give us notice that something is coming, that some danger is at the door ; if we will sleep on till it comes, if we will go on, happen what happen may, the kind spirit has done its duty, discharged its office, and if we fall into the mischief the fault is our own, we can by no means blame the insufficiency of the notice, and say, to what purpose is it ? seeing we had due and timely warning, but would not take the hint ; we had due notice of the danger, and would not step out of the way to avoid it, the fault is wholly our own.

Another account I had a sufficient voucher for, though the gentleman is now dead ; but I had great reason to believe the truth of it.

A young gentleman of good birth and fortune, in the beginning of the late war with France, had a violent inclination to see the world, as he called it, and resolved to go into the army ; his father was dead, and had left him a good estate ; that is to say, between four and five hundred pounds a-year, be-

sides his mother's jointure, which, after her life, would fall to him of course.

His mother earnestly entreated him not to go into the army, but pressed him rather to travel; and so might see the world, as she said, without feeling the calamities of the war, and without hazarding his life.

He told her, travelling, indeed, in time of peace, was all a gentleman could do, and was at best very expensive; but that now was the time a man might see the world at the expense of the public, and perhaps might make his fortune too.

His mother represented the danger of his life, and bade him consider how many gentlemen went into the army, and of them how few have lived to come home again, much less to rise to any degree of preferment.

He made light of all that, and told his mother (as is the general saying of warm heads when they push their fortunes, as they call it) that if he happened to be knocked on the head there was an end of him, and he was provided for.

Well, son, says the old lady, I am obliged to submit to it, you are your own master; but remember your mother's tears (and with those words she wept); I can but entreat you not to go, you have estate enough to make you easy, let those go whose narrow circumstances make the hazard rational, and let them go abroad to die that can't tell how to live; you can pay those that do go; you have no need to run the risk who do not want the pay.

He slighted all her entreaties, and told her, if his father was alive he did not doubt but he would give his consent, for he had done the same thing in his young days.

No, no, son, said his mother, your father knew better; he took a commission when he was the youngest of three sons, and had nothing to expect

at home but the fate of a younger brother; but as soon as he heard that his elder brothers were both dead, and the estate all come to him, he laid down his arms, sold his commission, and said he had no more business in the army; and he would tell you the same thing if he was alive: he used always to say that the sword and the book are the portions of younger brothers, the coach and the equipage is for the heir.

Well, it was all one; whatever his mother's arguments could do, or even speaking tears could say, nothing could prevail; but he mortgaged part of his estate to purchase a company in the first regiment of guards, and into the army he would go.

The night before he signed the agreement for the company, being in his bed and fast asleep, he saw in a dream his father come to him in his gown, and with a great fur cap on, such as he used to wear: and calling him by his name, What is the reason, says he, that you will not listen to the entreaties of your mother not to go to the wars; but answer her, That I would not dissuade you? I do assure you, that if you resolve to take this commission you will not enjoy it three years.

Why, says he, (in his dream,) what will hinder me? being, it seems, desirous to know something of his fortune.

Ask me not the particulars, says the apparition, but either decline the employ, or when you have enjoyed it two years and a half, sell out again, as I did before you.

I can't promise that, says he.

Then you may promise yourself, says the apparition, that it shall be worse.

He seemed to slight the admonition, and said it was too late to look back.

Too late! too late! says the apparition, repeating the words; then go on, and repent too late.

He was not much affected with this apparition, when he waked and found it was but a dream; For dreams, said he, are not to be heeded; so he went on and bought the commission.

A few days after the commission was bought, the father appeared again, not to him but to his mother, in a dream too, as before; and taking notice to her how his son had rejected her admonition, it added,

Young heads are wilful: Robert will go into the army; but tell him from me, he shall never come back.

All these notices were of no force with this young gentleman; but as he had resolved, so he pursued his resolution, and went into the army; and two battalions of that regiment going into the field that summer, his company was one, and so he went abroad into Flanders.

He wanted no occasion to show his bravery, and in several warm actions came off with applause; so that he was far from being suspected of cowardice; but one day, and in the third year of his service, the army was drawn out in order of battle, the general having received certain advice that the enemy would come and attack them. As he stood at the head of his company, he was suddenly seized with a cold shivering fit, and it was so violent that some officers who were near him, every one at their post, perceived it.

As it was to no purpose for him to conceal it, he turned to his lieutenant who stood next to him, and from whose mouth I received the particular account of it: I cannot imagine, says he, what is the occasion of this shaking fit.

It is your eagerness to fall on, says the lieutenant: I have often been so, and begin to be so now; I wish the French would come on, that we might have something to do.

It continued about a quarter of an hour, and the enemy did come on as was expected ; but the fight began upon the left, a good distance from them, so that the whole left wing was engaged before they began.

While this lasted, the lieutenant called to the gentleman, Colonel, says he, how do you do ? I hope your shivering fit is over.

No, says the colonel, 'tis not over ; but 'tis a little better.

It will be all over presently, says the lieutenant.

Ay, so 'twill, says the colonel, I am very easy, I know what 'twas now ; and with that he called the lieutenant to come to him for one moment.

When he came, says he, I know now what ailed me, I am very easy, I have seen my father ; I shall be killed the first volley ; let my mother know I told you this.

In a few minutes after this, a body of the enemy advanced, and the very first volley the regiment received was the fire of five platoons of grenadiers, by which the captain and several other officers, besides private men, were killed, and the whole brigade was soon after put into confusion, though being supported by some regiments of the second line, they rallied again soon after ; the captain's body was presently recovered ; but he was irrecoverably dead, for he received a shot in his face which killed him immediately.

If all the notices from the invisible world could have been of any use to him, or he had been to be wrought upon by cautions and advices, which nothing but a most obstinate temper would have so totally disregarded, the man had been safe ; but what can be expected when men are as plainly informed of things, as by such methods can be supposed rational, and will not take the hint ?

Lucius Florus records of Julius Cæsar, that a

woman of a masculine countenance, and of a mighty stature, appeared to him in a dream, and beckoned to him to follow her; that upon his following her, she went over the river Rubicon, and stood on the further bank, beckoning to him to come over; upon which the next day he boldly entered Italy, passing the Rubicon, which was the boundary of Italy on that side.

I know some relate this as an apparition to Cæsar in the open day, but I understand it otherwise, and that it was understood of the genius of Italy, as they then called it, and that he had such a vision in his sleep, which encouraged him in his attempt upon the liberty of his country; intimating, that the whole country invited him, and that he might be sure of success.

I shall not run out here into the account of dreams; the variety of them is infinite, and, as I hinted before, few of them of importance enough to deserve any regard; but such dreams as necessarily intimate an apparition of spirits, those, I think, must be significant.

The following is part vision, part apparition, and seems to make one be an evidence of the other, and therefore is very particularly to my purpose. T——H——, a gentleman of fortune, eldest son of the family, his father a baronet, and of an honourable line, and then living, being a young man, and a man of pleasure, had an intrigue with a certain lady, in which his younger brother (of the two, rather more gay and given that way than himself) was his rival: the lady was handsome, and of no despicable fortune, but much inferior to the eldest son of the family, whose fortune was near two thousand pounds per annum, after his father sir G———H——.

The younger gentleman was really in love with the lady, and inclined to marry her, if he could bring his father to consent to it, and had two or

three times spoken to the old knight about it; nor was his father much averse to it, only he thought her fortune too small.

Sir G—— told his son, if he had been his eldest, he should have been easier in the proposal, because his paternal estate being free, and perfectly unencumbered, he thought the heir was not under that necessity of making his fortune by a wife; but that a younger brother ought always to seek a fortune to mend his circumstances. He used to jest with his son, and tell him it was this made him connive at his way of life; that a younger brother should be handsome, be a scholar, dress, and be gay; the first to recommend him to the court, the second to recommend him to the ladies; that the heir having no need, was often left to be a booby knight, just able to write his own name, halloo to his own dogs, and ride the light saddle; but as he had seldom any share of brains, nature wisely gave the wit to one, and the estate to the other; so, says the knight, your brother has his affairs in a quite different situation.

These goodnatured kind of arguments the old knight used with his younger son, to persuade him against marrying the lady; but he did not absolutely forbid him on pain of his displeasure, and of withdrawing his hand from him, with respect to money; so that the young gentleman kept the lady company openly, and though he had not yet made the proposal to her, yet did really design it; I mean the honourable proposal, viz., of marriage.

On the other hand, the esquire, as they called him, kept her company on another and far worse account, designing to make a mistress of her, and not a wife.

Upon these differing views, the brothers often met at the lady's house, that is to say, at her aunt's, where she lived; for she had no father, and her

mother had changed circumstances, so that her daughter was as it were in her own hands.

The elder brother had this advantage in his interest, viz., that the lady loved him, and would have been very well pleased if he had courted her for marriage, but that was not his design; so that in a word, the case stood thus, the younger brother loved the lady, but the lady loved the esquire.

The elder brother laid siege to her virtue, and the younger laid siege to her affection; but, as I said, the stream running in favour of the eldest, the lady was in some danger of sacrificing her honour to her passion, and the honest pretensions of the young gentleman were in some hazard of a miscarriage.

The gentlemen carried on their affairs separately, and their own way; but were neither of them so close as to conceal it from one another that they had some designs, though they did not fully discover what their pretensions were; however, as I have said that they often met at the lady's apartment, it could not be long before they came to a conversation upon the subject, and this unhappily embroiled them together at last, as you shall see presently.

The eldest brother began one evening to be a little rough with his brother upon the subject; Jack, says the eldest, you and I often meet here, I don't understand it, pray what do you pretend to do? 'tis a little odd that two brothers should have but one mistress; pr'ythee, Jack, don't let us turn Italians.

Nay, says Jack, what do you pretend to? If either of us is in the wrong, I believe 'tis always on your side.

No, says T——, I don't allow that neither; I am right, I am sure of it; I am always right, and I will be right, pray take notice of that.

I take notice of nothing about it, not I, says

Jack ; all the world knows that I am right, and they shall know it, and you shall know it too, Tom.

Well, pry'thee Jack, says Tom, alter one piece of your conduct, I desire that of you.

What conduct ? I don't understand you ; but if I did, I know no conduct of mine that is amiss, and I shall alter none of it, I assure you.

Why, this it is, that when I meet you here, which I think is a little too often, says the esquire, I observe you always strive to stay after me, and to have me go away first ; I tell you I don't like it.

I shall alter nothing about that, I assure you, says Jack. I think I have some business here more than you have ; and as for your meeting me here too often, I think so too, I think you do come a little too often, unless you came with an honester design.

You are very pert, Mr. Jack, to your elder brother : I think I must handle you a little, says Tom.

Why good Mr. elder brother esquire Thomas, says Jack, when you are baronet, you may take upon you a little ; but till then, the cap and the knee is not so much your due, as you may think it is.

Look you Jack, says the esquire, I am not jesting with you, nor I won't be jested with by you ; the best answer a gentleman gives to a jest, is a box on the ear ; or *la coup de batton*.

Why, sir, says Jack, I must call myself a gentleman as well as you, or else I could not have the honour to call you brother : and since you are disposed to be in earnest, I take leave to tell you, sir, I will be used like a gentleman, and if you don't know how to do it, I am able to teach you.

They were now both very hot ; for upon the last words of his brother, the esquire laid hold of his

cane, at which the younger laid hold of his sword. Look you sir, says he, if you are disposed to treat your brother thus, take notice, sir, my father's son may be killed, but he can't be caned, and I won't take the least offer towards it at your hand, I am ready for you when you please.

Some company that were not far off, and friends to both, ran in upon this, and kept them asunder for that time; but they soon met again at the same place; and though it was two or three days or more, yet they soon began the same kind of discourse; and which was still worse, the elder brother, who was certainly in the wrong, yet always began the discourse.

It happened they met the last time at the lady's lodgings, and were let into her parlour, but the lady was, very unhappily, abroad; she had charged her maid, if ever the gentlemen came when she was abroad, she should never let them both in, or at least not both into the same room; for she had perceived they began to be very uneasy one with another; she knew they were both hot and angry, and she was afraid of some mischief between them, notwithstanding they were brothers.

But some of her aunt's servants happening to come to the door, when the eldest of the gentlemen knocked, they carried him into the same parlour where the younger brother was waiting before for the lady's return.

This was as unluckily pointed for what followed, as if the Devil, who is always ready for mischief, had contrived it on purpose; for the brothers were no sooner met, but they fell to quarrelling.

Well, Jack, says the elder brother, you will, it seems, keep your haunt here, notwithstanding what I said to you.

I do not really understand what you mean by your way of talking, says Jack ; you seem to take a liberty with me, you have no right to.

What liberty do I take? says the esquire. I asked you what business you had here with Mrs. —; was that taking too much liberty? and I ask you again, is that an offence?

And I told you, says Jack, I should give you no account of myself, did not I; was that an offence to you? If it was, I see no help for it, I shall give you the same answer now: I cannot imagine what you mean by asking me such a question.

I know what I mean by it, and I shall expect a better answer; I tell it you in a few words, says the esquire.

Nay, if you have a mind to make a quarrel of it you are welcome, says Jack, I'll make as few words as you please; only let me know your pleasure, tell me what you would have, and you shall have a direct answer, or a direct refusal at once.

Why, my question is short, says the esquire, what do you visit Mrs. — for? you may easily understand me.

I shall answer it with the same question, says Jack; Pray what do you visit her for?

Why that's as rude as you can answer an elder brother, says the esquire, and as spiteful; but few words are best, Jack, I visit her for that which bears no rivals; I hope you understand me now.

Well, and I do the same, says Jack; but there is one question between us, then, that carries matter of right with it, and that is, who visited her first?

Why, that's true, Jack, says the esquire, in some cases, but not in love; priority is no claim there, I shall not trouble myself about it.

Then I'm sure, says Jack, being an elder brother is no claim; so I shall take no notice of that.

No, no, says the esquire, I don't expect it; there are no relatives in whoring, Jack. I know no brother, or father, uncle, or cousin, when I talk of my mistress.

Very well, says Jack, now you have answered me more particularly than it may be you intended; and perhaps we may come to an understanding sooner than I expected.

What do you mean, says the esquire, by an understanding?

Nay, what can I mean? I mean that you give me to understand, that you court Mrs. ——— to make a whore of her.

Better language, Jack, however, says the esquire: a mistress, you would say?

Not I, says Jack, 'twill bear no better language; a whore's a whore, you know, call it what you will, 'tis the same thing to me.

Well, and suppose it then, what business have you with it?

Why, suppose then that I court the same lady for a wife, I hope I have the better of you there?

Not at all Jack, says the esquire, I shan't allow you should make a wife of my mistress.

Nor I can't allow, says Jack, that you should make a whore of my wife.

But I shall make no scruple of it, I assure you, says the esquire, if she is willing; for all you are brother, I shall do it if I can.

And I won't flatter you, that let her be willing or not be willing, if you really do it, says Jack, I shall make no scruple to cut your throat for it if I can, for all you are my brother.

Very well, Jack, says the esquire, then I know what I have to trust to.

It's very true, says Jack, 'tis the old road of knight-errantry, sir, win her and wear her, is the word.

And what must be done then? says the esquire.

Nay, says Jack, I need not tell you what to do; I tell you she's my wife, I think that's enough to tell you what you ought to do.

And I tell you, says the esquire, she's my mistress; that's enough to tell you, you are a cuckold, or shall be so; I think that's fair, to tell you beforehand.

And I think, says Jack, that's telling me I must cut your throat beforehand too; for I will neither be a cuckold, or be called so by you, or any man alive.

(At this the younger brother rose up in a violent rage, and went away; and the elder brother, as hot as he, told him as he went out, he did well to leave him in possession.)

This urged him yet more, and he turned back, and said, I hope you will have the manners to follow me.

No, Jack, says the esquire, and swore to him, you shan't fight for my mistress, and my estate too; I'll take care first you shall get nothing by me.

With all my heart, says Jack, we give a rogue time at the gallows to say his prayers, you know.

I shall correct you for your impudence, sir, to-morrow morning, without fail, says the esquire.

Must I wait upon your worship so long? says Jack, and added something very bitter, as if his brother was too much a coward to go on with it. But it appeared otherwise, for that very evening he received a challenge from the esquire, appointing time and place to meet the next day by five in the morning.

These two rash hot-headed young fellows were carried into this fit of rage by the violence rather of their fiery spirits and passions, than of their real jealousy, for they had scarce either of them begun

to engage with the lady one way or another ; but being hot and heady, they raised the storm between themselves, and the match and the tinder meeting, the flame broke out by the mere nature of the thing.

But my business is not to moralise upon the story, but to relate the fact. The challenge being given, they had no more to do but to meet, fight, play the butcher upon one another, and leave the consequences to time.

The father, the good old knight, who was then living, could know nothing of what had passed between his sons, for he was at that very time down at his country seat in W——shire, at least sixty miles from London.

On the morrow early, according to agreement, the brothers prepared themselves for the business, and out they went, but by several ways, to the place appointed, their lodgings being in different parts of the town.

The younger brother, whose blood it seems was warmest, was first out, and it was scarce daylight when he came within sight of the place appointed ; there he saw his brother, as he supposed him to be, walking hastily to and fro, as if he waited with impatience for his coming.

Nay, says he to himself, I am sure I am within the time ; however, don't be impatient brother Tom, I'll be with you presently ; and with that he mended his pace. He had not gone many steps more, but he saw his brother, as he still thought him to be, coming forward, as if it was to meet him, and with his sword drawn in his hand.

You are mighty nimble with your sword, said he again to himself, what, did you think I would not give you time to draw ? But how was he surprised when he came up to him, and found it was not his brother, but his father, and that instead of a sword

in his hand, he had nothing but a small little cane, such as the old knight generally walked with!

He was the more at a stand, because he supposed his father was, as is said above, at his seat in the country, above sixty miles off: however, he was out of doubt when he not only saw him nearer hand, but that his father spoke to him?

Why, how now Jack, says the old gentleman? What, challenge and draw upon your father!

(When he thought he saw his brother with his sword in his hand, he had laid his hand on his sword.)

You may be sure, sir, says he, I did not suppose it was you. I don't doubt you know whom I expected here; 'tis a poor cowardly shift for him first to challenge his brother, and then send you in his stead; you would not have done so yourself, when you was a young man.

'Tis no time to talk now, Jack, says the father, I have your challenge here, and I am come to fight you, not to talk to you; therefore draw, says he; you know there's no relation in love; and with that his father draws his sword, and advances upon him.

Draw! says Jack: what, and upon my father! heavens forbid! no, I'll be murdered first.

But his father advancing again, and with a furious countenance, as if he would indeed kill him, Jack pulls out his sword and scabbard, and throwing it on the ground, cried out, There, sir, take it, kill me with it; for God's sake, what do you mean?

But his father, as it were running upon him, Jack turns from him, and giving a spring out of his power, seems resolved to run from him; at which his father stoops, takes up his sword, and stood still.

The young gentleman, surprised and amazed at the rencounter, was all in terror and confusion, and

knew not what to do ; but going back a considerable way, and observing that his father was gone, as he thought, he resolved, though he had no sword, he would go to the place appointed, and see if his brother was come ; for he should not be able to say he did not meet him, however he was thus strangely disarmed.

Accordingly, he went back to the place, and sat him down upon the ground, waiting near two hours there, but heard nothing of his brother ; but as he came away again at the end of the two hours, he found his sword lying just in the place where it was thrown down, or as near the place as he could imagine, though he was sure it was not there when he went the second time by the place.

This amused him more, and he knew not what to make of it ; but he took up the sword and went home, wondering at what the meaning of all this should be.

He had not been long at home, but his brother's servant comes to his lodging with a very civil message from the esquire, to know how he did ; and the servant was bid to ask him from his brother, if he had not met with something extraordinary that morning, and to tell him, that he, his brother, was very ill, or he would ha' come to see him.

The oddness of the message added to the surprise he was in before ; upon which, he called the messenger up stairs, and parleyed with him a little thus :

J. What's the matter, Will ? how does my brother do ?

Will. My master gives his service to your worship, and sent me to know how you do.

J. Indeed, I'm out of order a little ; but how is your master ? what's the matter ?

Will. Why, truly, and't please your worship, I

don't know what's the matter ; I think my master has been frightened this morning.

J. Frighted, Will ! with what, pr'ythee ? your master is not easily frightened.

Will. Why, no, and't please you, I know he is not ; but this has been something extraordinary ; I don't know how 'tis, for I was not with my master, but they talk in the house, that he has seen his father, or seen an apparition in the shape of his father.

J. Why, so have I too, Will ; now you fright me indeed, for I made light of it before ; why, it was my father to be sure.

Will. No, sir, alas, your father ! why, my old master was at —— in W——shire, and very ill in his bed but a Friday last ; I came from him ; my master sent me to him on an errand.

J. And did you see him yourself, Will ?

Will. If your worship please to give me my oath, I'll take my oath I saw him, and spoke with him in his bed, and very ill he was ; I hope your worship will believe I know my old master ?

J. Yes, yes, you know him, no doubt, Will. I think you lived four years with him, didn't you ?

Will. I dressed him and undressed him five years and a half, and't please you ; I think I may say I know him in his clothes, or out of 'em.

J. Well, William, and I hope you will allow that I may know my own father too, or him I ha' called father these thirty years ?

Will. Yes, to be sure, and't please you.

J. Well then, tell my brother, it was either my father, or the Devil ; I both saw him, and spoke with him, and I'm frightened out of my wits.

Away went Will with this message back to his master, and his master immediately goes again with Will to see his brother.

As soon as he came into the room to his brother,

he runs to him, and kisses him; Dear Jack, says he, What has been the matter with us to-day? we have both played the fool, but forgive me my part, and tell me what has happened.

Jack received him with all the passions and tenderness imaginable, and they fell immediately to comparing things with one another. Will had told his brother in general how it was, as the younger brother had ordered him; that he had seen his father, and spoke to him; and now he told him all the particulars himself, as I have related them above, and how he came at him with such fury, that he really thought he would have run him through the body, and that he run away.

The squire related his story much to the same purpose, how that as he was coming to the place appointed, his father met him, and asked him whither he was going; that he put him off with a slight answer, and told him he was going to Kensington, to meet some gentlemen there, who were to go with him to Hampton-court.

That upon this his father turned very angry; and I observed, said he, his face looked as red as fire, he stamped with his foot, as he used to do when he was provoked, and told me I put him off with a sham; that he knew my errand as well as I did myself; that I was going to murder my younger brother, and that he was come to satisfy my fury with his blood, and I should murder him, not my brother.

I was so confounded, said the esquire, I could not speak to him a good while; but recovering myself a little, and going to excuse myself, he grew more angry; when I said my pretensions were as honest to Mrs. — as yours were, he gave me the lie; and indeed, Jack, I deserved it, though I could not imagine he knew; but he told me, in short, that I lied, for that I courted her to debauch her, but that

you courted her honourably, to marry her, and he had given his consent to it.

I was confounded, then begged his pardon ; so he bade me go home and be reconciled to my brother, or that he would talk other language to me the next time he saw me : And now, dear Jack, says the esquire, I am come to ask your pardon, not only in obedience to my father, but really on my own account, for I am convinced I was in the wrong to you very much.

You may be sure the brothers were immediately as good friends as ever they were in their lives. But still Jack was uneasy about this being the real appearance of his father ; and his brother's man William's words run in his mind all that night : for as to this first meeting, it was so taken up with the ecstasies of their reconciliation, that they had no time for anything else.

But the next morning the young gentleman went to see his brother, to return his visit, and talk things over again.

Dear brother, says Jack, I am very uneasy about one part of our story still ; I am glad from my soul that you and I are brought to understand one another, and I hope it shall never be otherwise ; but I cannot be thoroughly satisfied about who it was that was the peacemaker ; if what your man Will. says be true, it could never be my father.

Nay, says his brother, Will. told me that you said it was my father, or the Devil.

Why yes, I did say so, says Jack, but that was to intimate my certainty of its not being my father, not that I supposed it was the Devil. But, pray, how long has my father been in town ?

Nay, says the esquire, I didn't know that he is in town ; but that I saw him I know well enough.

But did not you send Will. down to him, says

Jack, into the country? and is it possible he could come up since that, in so little time?

Yes, yes, he might come up, says the esquire; he often drives it in a day and a piece, sometimes in a day; six horses go at a great rate, you know.

But, pray, what think you of it yourself? you saw him as well as I. Was it really my father? Your man Will. talks that 'twas impossible; besides, he says my father was very ill, and kept his bed.

Will. does say he was much out of order, but he did not say he kept his bed; but I confess I never entered into that dispute in my thoughts: 'twas my father, sure! what else could it be? As you said, brother, it must be my father or the Devil.

Nay, I don't know what to say, neither, brother, says Jack, as to its being the Devil. I believe the Devil and my father have no manner of correspondence.

Besides, brother, says the esquire, how should the Devil owe you and I so much goodwill, as to concern himself to reconcile us? I believe he had much rather have seen us murder one another, as we were in a fair way to have done.

I rather believe, says Jack, he had a hand in making us quarrel.

Ay, indeed, so do I, says the esquire; I think, for my part, I was mad; and, as folks commonly say, the Devil was in me, or I should never have been such a fool.

Well, but brother, says the young gentleman, how shall we come at the bottom of this matter? we both think it was my father, and we both think it can hardly be him neither, and we both think it was not the Devil.

Ay, and, says the esquire, if it should not be my father nor the Devil neither, what shall we say then?

Why that indeed makes me so impatient to have

it out : now I'll tell you one thing which alarms me a little too ; I have sent to Mr. ——'s, where you know my father always lodges, and to the Black Swan yard, where, you know, his coach stands, and they all say he's not in town, and that he's to be in town about six weeks hence.

Why that's extraordinary too, I confess, says the esquire ; I never thought of it, because I never entertained any jealousy of this kind, it was quite out of my head ; but, upon my word, you make me very uneasy about it now.

For my part, says his younger brother, I would give anything to come to a certainty about it, I could almost take my horse and go down on purpose.

I'll go with you, with all my heart, says the esquire.

To bring the matter to a conclusion, the two brothers agreed, and they went both away to see their father. The very day they took horse to go down, but some hours after they were gone, a letter came in to the elder brother's house from their father, the contents of which I shall take notice of presently.

And first, I am to observe, that when they came to their father, they found him at home, and very ill, nor had he been from home ; and was greatly concerned for the safety of his sons, upon the following occasion :—

The night before he wrote the letter spoken of above, he was surprised in his sleep with a dream, or rather a vision, that his two sons had fallen out about a mistress ; that they had quarrelled to that degree that they had challenged one another, and were gone out into the fields to fight ; but that somebody had given him notice of it, and that he had got up in the morning by four o'clock to meet and prevent them.

Upon this dream he awaked in great disorder and terror; however, finding it but a dream, he had composed his mind, and gotten to sleep again: but that he dreamed it again in so lively a manner, that he was forced to call up his man that waited on him, to sit up the rest of the night with him; and he was frightened, and much out of order with the fright.

That in consequence of this dream he had sent a servant up express, with orders to ride night and day, to inquire how his sons did, and to bring him word if there had been any such breach among them; and earnestly to press them, if such a breach had been, that they would consent to let him mediate between them, that it might go no further till he could come up, that so he might put an end to their resentments and make peace among them, according to his dreams: and this was the letter, mentioned above, that came to hand in a few hours after they were set out.

It cannot be doubted but it was very confounding to his sons to hear the account their father gave them of his dream, or vision rather, about their quarrel; and it was equally amazing to see it confirmed by all the true particulars; also that the old gentleman, to be sure, had been so far from being at London, that he had scarce been a whole day off from his bed.

They conferred together seriously upon the private question, viz., whether they should tell their father the story of their quarrel, but especially of their seeing him severally, and his really parting them, or preventing their fighting.

Upon the whole, they concluded not to let their father know of his likeness (as they called it) appearing to them, lest it might disquiet him too much; and for the rest, as they were perfectly reconciled again, they said there was no manner of

occasion to mention it at all ; so they only paid their compliment as a visit of duty, to see how he did, and to ask his blessing, Will. having told them that he was out of order : and as for his letter, they could happily tell him they had not seen it.

According to this resolution they performed the ceremony of visiting their father, and made haste away again, that they might converse the more freely about this strange conjunction of circumstances, which had in it so many things surprising to their thoughts, and even to their understandings ; for they knew not what to make of it, nor, indeed, could they resolve it into anything but this, which is to my purpose exactly, and which is the reason of my mentioning the whole story, namely, that here was a double apparition within the compass of our proposed system.

1. Here was the apparition of the living person of their father, without his participation in the action ; his face, voice, and perhaps habit, was assumed, and yet he himself knew nothing of the matter, was not in the least concerned in it, or acquainted with it.

2. Here was an apparition to the father in dream ; it was a plain vision, the thing that was true in fact was revealed to him in his sleep, which is the very subject I am now speaking of. The sons were represented, or appeared to him, quarrelling, and in a state of feud, as they really were, and yet neither of them knew anything of the matter.

From hence (supposing the reality of the story) it necessarily follows that a spirit or invisible being, let it be called what we please, may take upon it the shape, face, voice, of any living person whom it pleases to represent, without the knowledge, consent, or concurrence of the person so represented, in any manner whatsoever.

And from hence also it is evident that dreams

are sometimes to be called, and really are, apparitions, as much as those other visible apparitions which are seen when we are, as we call it, broad awake; that apparition is to the eyes of the soul, and as it is so, it may be seen as well sleeping as waking, for the imagination sleeps not; the soul ceases indeed to act organically, but it ceases not to act as a soul, and in a spirituous manner, and consequently can act upon spirituous objects; and that as well in sleep as at any other time.

I could load this account with story, for example is frequent in these cases, and I am forced to leave out some, which are very good, and would be entertaining, because they are too tedious for the work; besides, I am not pretending to write a collection of old stories; if I did I should call it a history of all the chimney-corners in the three kingdoms. However, I must not leave you barren of examples, neither, in cases so pregnant; take one more which my author assures me was never in print.

A certain lady of good figure and some quality, had a terrible quarrel with her husband upon the great and critical points of virtue and honour; he was a gentleman of public business, and passed for a man of sense; but had that particular infirmity, which with me will always pass for a deficiency in the understanding; I mean, to be jealous of his wife and yet to be able to fix nothing upon her, no not so much as a just blot upon her conversation.

It is very hard for a man to be fool enough to disquiet himself on such an account, and not be knave enough to make it uneasy to his wife too; I say knave, because where there is no just cause of reproach, he cannot be an honest man that loads his wife with the scandal of it.

He had thought fit to use her very ill upon this subject many times, with no manner of foundation, nay, indeed, not so much as a pretence for it, except

what was to be fetched from his own bewildered imagination; and he gave himself up so much to his jealousy, without grounds, that his wife was obliged to lay her condition before some of her relations, who took upon them to talk with him about it.

This talking with him had a worse effect than was expected, for the man was so far from being influenced by the friendly expostulations of his wife's kindred, that he grew rude and abusive to them: and if any one of them spoke a little warmer than ordinary in her favour, he turned it presently upon that person, as if he had been the man, and had been naught with her; and yet when one of them challenged him to give any one instance of his wife's conduct, or of any person's associating with her in a manner as should give an honest man the least grounds of suspicion, he could not assign the least reason; but as is most true in ordinary, that those who are the most jealous have oftentimes the least cause for it, so it was here; yet notwithstanding all the expostulations that were or could be used with him, the coolest reasonings and most friendly persuasions, he continued to use his wife so ill, that her friends began to think it necessary to part them.

The lady, a woman of piety as well as virtue, though grieved heartily with the ill usage, and particularly as it reproached her virtue, yet was loath to unhinge her family and separate from her husband, having also two children which she could not part with, her affection not suffering her to leave them to want the care and conduct of a mother; so she chose rather to bear his daily ill usage of her, than to leave her family.

But he carried the brutish part so far at length, that not content to use her in the most scandalous manner with his tongue, he fell upon her with his hands, and two or three times, in his rage, abused

her very much; she concealed this part, for his sake, as much as she could, and endeavoured to prevent its being known.

But he took care to expose himself in it upon many occasions, and particularly by affronting a gentleman of his own acquaintance, and some relation to him too: the case was thus; he fell to charging his wife with dishonesty in his ordinary discourse, and before strangers; upon which the gentleman said, Fie, cousin, really I believe you wrong her, at least you should be very sure you were in the right before you talked so; your lady has a general character of an honest, modest, and virtuous woman; and I am told she is a very pious and religious person also.

At this he flew out in a passion, and said, D——her, he was satisfied she was a whore.

But, cousin, says the gentleman, then I suppose you know the person too, and could prove the fact!

He believed he did, he said.

Nay, you ought to be very sure of it, cousin, says he, before you charge your wife so positively.

He answered, without any manner of respect to his cousin, I believe you are the man; and adds, I take it for granted.

What suspicion, says the gentleman, did I ever give you of it? I was never in your wife's company in my life, but when you were present.

'Tis no matter for that, says he, if you were not guilty, why should you concern yourself to vindicate her?

The gentleman, though greatly provoked, kept his temper still, and smiled at him; Cousin, says he, I doubt you have no better argument to prove your wife's guilt than you have mine, and if you han't she's as innocent as a sucking child.

His smiling provoked him, and he gave the gen-

tleman the lie, and added some very scurrilous language to it, such as might be expected from a madman, a man out of himself; not by lunacy, as a distemper, but by that worse frenzy, called, groundless jealousy.

As giving the lie is the last injury one man can do to another with his tongue, it so provoked his cousin, that scorning to draw his sword upon him, he corrected him heartily for it with his cane, as he deserved; and he again, like a true coward, when they were gone revenged himself upon his wife; for he abused her again in a brutish and barbarous manner: nor did it pacify him at all that he vented his rage thus upon his wife at that time; but he continued it upon every occasion of his being harassed with his own jealousy: and whenever he abused his wife after that time, he upbraided her with this gentleman, and with her still keeping him company; though, as it appeared afterwards, the gentleman was not in England, nor had been for several months.

It happened one time in particular, that coming home, not at all in drink, but very much out of humour, and, as it seemed, provoked, though it could not be so much as guessed at what the reason was, he picked a quarrel with his wife, and without any other provocation than what was to be found in his own want of temper, fell foul of her in a most unmerciful manner; and had not help been fetched in it was feared he would have murdered her. In a word, neighbours coming in to her rescue, saved her from further mischief; yet before them all he bade her go out of the house, and forbid her coming any more within his doors.

The lady could not now avoid what she had so long been persuaded to before; so taking some clothes, and her own jewels, which she brought to

him, she withdrew the same evening to her own brother's house, taking sufficient witness of the occasion of it.

But to bring this story nearer to the case in hand: the gentleman whom he had thus ill used, had, on some occasions of his own, been obliged about five months before this last broil to go over to Germany; and as he went from England by sea and landed at Hamburgh, he travelled from Hamburgh up to Magdeburgh, and from thence to Leipsic in Saxony.

As he was sitting alone in a summer-house, as we call it, or garden-house, as they more properly call it there, belonging to a burgher of Leipsic, and reading a book to divert himself, being in the heat of the day, and a little after dinner, he dropped asleep, and dreamed that a lady was come from England to speak with him, and was in the house waiting for him.

Upon this dream, and being not very sound asleep, only leaning his head on his hand as he was reading, he waked; and as soon as he waked he started up, and intended to go into the house to see who it should be, when immediately he sees a lady in an English dress coming up the garden towards the summer-house.

He did not know her at first; but when she came nearer she spoke to him; he, calling her by her name, would have saluted her; but she seemed to decline it, and stepping back, said, You and I, sir, have been sufficiently abused upon that head already; and I come to you for justice. I am ill used, and in danger of being murdered every day by my cruel husband on your account, and am at last turned out of doors.

Alas! says he, madam, he is a brutish man, and I am very sorry; but what can I do for you?

You know my innocence, says she, as far as relates to yourself; do me justice, I ask no more: and that moment she disappeared.

He was extremely surprised, as he might well be indeed; and the more, because he had not the least notion of its being an apparition, no more had the burgher's servant who let her in at the door, and waited on her up the garden to the summer-house.

He went immediately back into the house, and inquired who let the lady into the house; and the servant that had ushered her up the walk in the garden told him he did; and also that he had that minute let her out again; but looking out into the street, nothing of her could be seen again, or did he ever see or hear any more of her in that manner.

While this passed, the lady lived a very melancholy retired life in her brother's family, seeing no company, and spending her time in a most uncomfortable solitude; especially grieved for the reproach so causelessly raised upon her character, and having nothing to comfort her but the knowledge of her own innocence; that which we call the comfort of a good conscience: which, as the world goes now, I must be cautious how I lay too much stress upon, or moralise too much upon, lest I should be called religious and grave, which is as much as to say, mad.

This separation continued some time; all endeavours to bring it to a reconciliation had been tried, but proved ineffectual; the husband continuing insolently abusive to his wife; and his wife (things being carried to such a height) insisting upon a reparation of the injury offered to her reputation, by having either the facts proved, or a due cause of suspicion assigned. Between both, a reconciliation seemed impracticable, and friends on

both sides having done their utmost, began to give it over.

But, to the agreeable surprise of all that wished well to the family, the husband comes one morning to his wife's brother all alone, and asks to speak with his wife.

Her brother was a little doubtful at first what answer to give him; and particularly was afraid to bring his sister forth to him, not knowing what the Devil and an exasperated temper might prompt him to; and he perceiving it, said, with a quite differing tone from what he used to talk with, You need not be afraid, brother, to let me see my wife, though indeed I have given you all cause enough to be uneasy; but I assure you I will soon satisfy you that I do not come to do her any harm, but just the contrary: I come to put an end to all this wicked breach, and that in a manner as shall be to your satisfaction, and her's too; and I am very willing you shall be present when I speak to her, for I desire you should hear what I have to say.

He spoke it with such an apparent alteration in his temper, that it was easy to see that he was quite another man, and that there was no hazard in letting him see her: so he went and acquainted his wife with what had passed, who, though she was a little afraid at first, yet upon her brother's persuasions came down, and her brother led her into the room to him, in his hand.

As soon as he saw his wife, he run to her and took her in his arms, and kissed her, holding her fast, but was not able to speak a word for some time. At last, getting a little vent of his passion, My dear, says he, I have wronged and abused you, and I come to acknowledge it in as public a manner as possibly I can; I come to ask you pardon for it, and am ready to declare my full satisfaction of your innocence, in as open a manner as ever the Devil

and my own ungoverned passion inflamed me against you : make your own demands what satisfaction I shall make you, and what security I shall give you, that you shall have no more such treatment ; I am ready to comply with them ; and go home with me, if you dare trust me : the moment I break my promise to you in the least circumstance, you shall freely remove again without the least hindrance, or the least contradiction from me : in the mean time, depend upon it you shall never have any occasion of uneasiness given you ; and, as long as I live, I will acknowledge, whenever you desire it, that I did you wrong, and that you gave me no just occasion for what has passed.

He spoke this with so much affection, and even with tears in his eyes, that he forced tears not from his wife only, but from her brother too, and another relation of her's that was in the room with them. In a word, the reconciliation was made in a few minutes ; for he not only complied with anything his wife or her brother desired, but even more than they asked ; and when they proposed that, to prevent mistakes afterwards, he would consent they should put into writing what they desired, and what he had said to her, he called for a pen and ink, and drew it out himself in the fullest terms imaginable, to the same purpose as has been related, and fuller, indeed, than they could desire, and set his hand to it, desiring the brother and the other relation to be witnesses of it, and then gave it to his wife.

Upon this his wife, with a glad heart, went home that very night along with him, her brother and the other relation being invited to go also, which they did ; where he entertained them very kindly at supper, which finished the reconciliation, and they lived very comfortably together ever after.

But now for the reason and occasion of all this, and whence this strange alteration proceeded : to

this purpose you are to understand, that, one evening, this gentleman, being either in his chamber, or some other room in his house, (the story is not particular in that part,) he sees his cousin, who had differed with him about his wife, come into the room, and says to him, Cousin, I am very sorry to hear you have continued to use your wife ill, and at last have turned her away, upon my account. I come on purpose to admonish you to repent of the injury you have done her; for she is innocent, and you know you have injured her: as for the wrong you do me, I am out of your reach: but fetch your wife home, and reconcile yourself to her, or I shall visit you again, much less to your satisfaction than I do now.

He gave him no time for a reply, but immediately disappeared. It may be easily guessed what a consternation he was left in, when he found it was an apparition. He concluded his cousin was dead, because he said he was out of his reach; and he concluded that this was his ghost, or his disquieted soul, and he dreaded the threatening of his return. He endeavoured to wear it off of his mind, but it would not do; the impression, to be sure, would be strengthened by his own guilt, and both together brought him to himself.

For this is to be observed in all such things, viz., that it is not the fright or the surprise that works on the mind, but the conviction; and therefore, though this is one of those relations which I do not take upon me to assert the fact of from my own knowledge, yet, supposing it to be true, the moral is the same, and on that account I relate it, viz., that there may be an apparition of a person living, and yet the person living, and so seeming to appear, not know anything of it, or be any way concerned in it; and so in this story now told, it is implied that the lady here was living when she appeared to the gen-

tleman in Germany, and that the gentleman in Germany was living when he appeared to his cousin in London, whatever manner they appeared in; and yet it seems that neither of them knew anything of the matter, and doubtless had no concern at all in it.

I have not been able to dive so far into this story as to say that they were even inquired of afterward, whether they were acquainted with the circumstances or no; but I am indifferent as to that point, it is out of question with me that they might not be any way concerned in the thing itself, and yet that it might be really an apparition of the persons, their faces, voices, clothes, and all the needful apparatus fit for the delusion.

There are many instances of the like kind with this, and I have a very particular relation by me of a person who, in apparition, told a friend of his of the fire of London two months before it happened, mentioned the manner of the conflagration, how it would begin in the heart of the city, and would burn east and west, and lay the city level with the ground, to use the very words.

He happened not to tell the place exactly where it was to have been done; if he had he might have been afterwards brought into trouble by the unadvised relating the particulars; for his friend believed he really saw him, and not that it was an apparition: but it seems he made a long religious excursion upon the dismal condition of the citizens, and how their pride would be brought low, how their glory would be laid in the dust, and how it was all to be looked upon as a blow upon them for their luxury, and for their public sins; and so seemed to preach pretty much: and, you know, if spirits from the other world were to preach, some people have such an aversion to that dull, heavy business, as they call it, that they would give very little heed to

it. I say, the apparition seemed to preach pretty much upon the subject, and so the friend began to be weary of the discourse, and put him off to something else.

That which seems particular in this story, and which, had I room here, would take up some time to discourse upon at large, is, that the apparition went off in form, not discovering itself so much as to be an apparition, but came in at the door, was let in by the servant in the usual manner, after knocking at the door, and was carried into the parlour among the family ; that it discoursed of other matters also, as of the Dutch war, and the bloody engagement at sea : I do not remember exactly whether it said a bloody engagement had been, or would be, but I think it was an engagement that had lately been.

That there were several other transitions in their discourse, from one article of public business to another, and at last to that of the fire of London : the gentleman who it was discoursed to seemed not to be much concerned at the prediction about the fire, looking upon it as a piece of guess-work, and that his friend spoke it as of a thing which he feared, rather than as a thing he foretold, and pretended to know of : but after the terrible conflagration had happened, and that the city was indeed laid low from the east to the west, as had been mentioned, then all the particulars came into his mind with some weight, and some unusual reflection ; for the circumstances were too evident to be slightly thought of.

However, it passed over in the ordinary way, with a little kind of wonder : and it was strange that Mr. M—— should be able to talk so ; and sure Mr. M—— deals with the Devil, and the like ; whereas all this while Mr. M—— knew nothing of the story : and whatever hand it was, and for whatever

kind purposes, no notice was taken of it, and Mr. M—— had so little knowledge of it himself, that his own house was burnt down in the general disaster, and he had hardly time to save one quarter part of his goods.

It might, indeed, be formed here, as an objection against this notion of good spirits from the invisible world, and their concerning themselves in giving notices of approaching mischiefs, viz., that they do not concern themselves to give such notices in cases of public calamities, when many thousands, not of persons only, but even of families, are concerned, and in danger; and even where many particular persons, who at other times have had such warnings from them, and have been, as it were, their particular care, have been left to fall in the common disaster.

This is what I may take notice of again, in its proper place; but at present I am rather observing to you what is, than the reason of its being so: the ways and works of Providence are sovereign and superior; the manner concealed, and beyond our understandings and reason, not always visible to us, and yet its proceedings not the less just, or the less to be accounted for in themselves; nor is it necessary that we should be always able to account for them to ourselves. Heaven has its own reasons for all its actings, and it is not for us to dispute its sovereignty, any more than to examine into the reason of its working. The bishop of Down, the pious and devout doctor Jeremy Taylor, in the case of an apparition yet to be spoken of, would needs have the person it appeared to ask this question when it came again, Why he appeared, or how he come to appear in so small a matter as that of doing justice to one single child, when so many oppressed widows and orphans groaned under the weight of greater injuries, without any of their relations con-

cerning themselves in the least for their deliverance? and the man did accordingly ask the question, as we shall see in its place; but had no answer given him, as indeed I think he ought not to have expected: but of this hereafter.

It is certain the approach of that terrible fire, the like of which was never known in this part of the world, was not discovered from the invisible world, at least but to very few: an evident token that departed souls knew nothing of it, or, if they did, had no power to come hither and give notice of it; if they had, what numbers of predictions, forebodings, and apparitions would there have been in the city for some months before!

But are we not answered by the Scripture, and might we not reply in the language of our Saviour, speaking of the general deluge, Matt. xxiv. 38, 39? *For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not, until the flood came and took them all away; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be?*

Just so likewise was it at the time of the fire of London: it is said indeed, with some remark, that it was not a wedding-night to many, if to any one couple in the city; because the fire beginning on the Sunday morning, very few, if any, are said to be married of a Saturday; but as it was a mighty custom in those days to marry on a Sunday, so there were a great many weddings appointed for the next morning, which were hindered without any forebodings or foreknowledge; and that which was infinitely worse, many women in travail that very night, were, as it was reported, forced to be carried out of their chambers in the very article of childbirth, and some, as I have heard, were delivered in the very passage from one house to an-

other : others, not thinking the fire would follow so fast, having removed but a little way, their extremity being great, were obliged to be removed again ; yet we find no notice of any of these things given in the least.

This, indeed, is what I say we cannot account for, neither is there any need for us to account for them in the discourse we are upon ; for our question is not, why there are no more notices given than there are, and why they are not universal to one, as well as another ; as if it were a grace men ought to have an equal claim to : but it is a proposition that such apparitions there are, and that therefore there are certain agents so appointed to appear.

We have like accounts to these at the time of the great massacre at Paris ; a critical juncture, in which the rage of hell seemed to be carried to a terrible height, and when innocent blood lay ready to be spilt in a terrible manner ; the unguarded protestants having no means to avoid the mischiefs that attended them, and no strength to resist the power of the cut-throat armies which surrounded them ; so they had no intimations from the invisible world to assist their escape.

But what does this amount to, any more than the like cases may argue in a thousand calamities and disasters which have befallen mankind before ? Nay, it confirms the grand truth which I have insisted on ; namely, that souls departed know not anything, and can communicate nothing, though unembodied spirit may.

For could the departed souls of deceased relations have known that their fathers, or children, or brothers, or relicts, &c., were the next day to have been murdered, can we doubt but they would have given them all the notice that it was in their power to do, and at least have alarmed them so as to put them upon their guard. and give them an opportu-

nity to die like heroes, as many of them were? and as they did not do thus, I think, without injustice or presumption, we may conclude they cannot; they could not then, neither can others do the like now.

And yet as to such notices as the inhabitants of the invisible world were allowed to make, I believe they were not without them at that time, though it was not thought fit by the appointment of Heaven, to have the wicked resolution of murder and massacre defeated; as to the reasons why, which is what we have nothing to do to dispute, that we leave in silence, as we may well do.

The histories of those times are full of the secret warnings and notices then given by the kind apparitions of those invisible agents, whoever they are, in dream. The admiral Coligni had no less than three particular notices given him by dreams, that his life was in danger, and that he would be murdered if he stayed in Paris; an express was sent him from the count S——, at Saumur, to make his escape, and flee for his life before it was too late; nay, it was even said that the king of Navarre, who was afterwards Hen. IV., sent a private message to him to be gone, and if he stayed one night longer, he would find it impossible: but, as they said afterwards, his hour was come, and his fate was determined; and he was deaf to his friends, for several others who had a jealousy of his danger, gave him like warnings, but it was all in vain; he was deaf and indolent to his own safety.

Some others who were more obedient to the heavenly vision, more touched then with the sense of their danger, as the count de Montgomery, the Vidam of Chartres, de Caversac, and others, too many to name; and who had severally, and some of them jointly, timely warning of their danger, mounted their horses, and fled the very night be-

fore, and preventing the vigilance of their pursuers, made their escape.

I might here enlarge upon the probability of this as a maxim, that though these spirits may have leave to give such notice and such warnings to some particular persons for the saving their lives, yet we are not to suppose it is placed in their power to contravene the determination of Heaven, and to act contrary to appointments of his providence, especially in things of general import, such as public judgments, which are immediately in the disposing of his power, and not to be disappointed or delayed.

Besides, as we may have reason to believe that they all act by commission, it is also most certain that they cannot go an inch, no, not a hair's breadth beyond that commission, or step one foot out of the way of it, to the right hand, or to the left: and thence we are to infer that they do not give further or more frequent notices to us, because they are not permitted; and this is, besides the rest, adding a greater reverence to the thing itself; for take off their superior commission, and I know not what we should say to them, or of what real notice or value they would be.

I cannot but say that there were many notices given of the calamity of the Parisian massacre, which were enough to have alarmed the protestants; and the chiefs of them were, in some measure, alarmed; though not sufficient, as it proved, to drive them out of the danger; yet so as that they did perceive some mischief was hatching, but they could not possibly guess at the manner; and besides, if they had, the other party had gotten them so far in their power that they could not avoid the danger, but were taken, as it were, in a toil; and yet they did send such notices of their danger to their friends in several places, as to warn them in

time to be upon their guard ; and which warning did (speaking of second causes) preserve them from the like mischief ; for the massacre was intended to be universal, at least in all the cities in France.

CHAP. XII.

Of apparitions being said to happen just at the time when the person so happening to appear is said to be departing ; the fiction of it confuted.

THERE is a great clamour, as I might justly call it, raised about people's appearing just at the time of their expiring ; and so exactly they will tell us it, as to time, as if, though a thousand mile off, the soul was in apparition the same moment ; I see no foundation for any of these relations, much less for the circumstances ; and yet the apparition itself may be really true in fact : such a man appeared to his wife, such another to his son, and the like ; and they set down the time, adding, 'and that very moment, as near as could be calculated, he died,' perhaps in the East Indies, or at sea, at some vast distance.

A certain lady of my acquaintance going out of her chamber into a closet in the adjoining room, saw her husband walking along in the room before her : she immediately comes down in a great surprise, tells the family she had seen her husband, and she was sure it was he ; though at the same time she knew her husband (who was the commander of a ship) was at sea, on a voyage to or from the capes of Virginia.

The family takes the alarm, and tells her, that to be sure her husband was dead, and that she should be sure to set down the day of the month, and the hour of the day ; and it was ten thousand to one but she should find that he died that very moment, or as near as could be found out.

About two months after, her husband comes home very well ; but had an accident befell him in his voyage, viz., that stepping into the boat, or out of the boat, he fell into the sea, and was in danger of being lost ; and this they calculated upon to be as near the time as they could judge, that he appeared to his wife. Now if this was his ghost, or apparition of his soul, in the article of death, it seems his soul was mistaken, and did not know whether it was dismissed or no ; which is a little strange, I must confess : but of that hereafter.

Sir J—— O—— was a person of note, and of well-known credit ; his lady and one of her sons lived here in London ; and being of a gay disposition, and given to live high and expensive, it was thought she spent beyond what the knight could afford, and that he was sensible of it, and uneasy at it : she had a very good house in London, and a country house or lodgings for the summer at ——, and kept a great equipage ; the consequence of things did at last prove, that sir J——'s dislike of it was justly founded ; but that's by the by.

It happened one day, the lady being at her country lodgings, a person well dressed, appearing very much like a gentleman, came to her city house, and knocking at the door, asked the maid if there were any lodgings to be let there, and if her lady was at home. The maid answered, No, there were no lodgings to be let there ; and speaking as if it was with some resentment, Lodgings ! says she, no, I think not ! my lady does not use to let lodgings. Well, but sweetheart, says he, don't be displeased ; your lady as had some thoughts of staying at her summer lodgings all the winter, and so would dispose of some apartments here for the parliament season ; and I am directed by herself to look upon the rooms, and give my answer ; let me but just see them, child, I shall do you no harm. So he stepped

in, and, as it were, pushed by her, going into the first parlour, and sat down in an easy chair, his servant staying at the door; and as the maid did not apprehend any mischief, she went in after him; for he did not look like one that came with an ill design, or to rob the house; but looked like a gentleman that could have nothing of such a kind in his view; so I say she went in after him.

When she came in he rose up, and looking about the room, he found fault with everything, the furniture, and the manner of it, nothing pleased him; not as if not good enough for him, but that all was too good, and too rich, far above her quality that owned it; that the lady did not know what she did, that it was an expense she could not carry on, and her estate would not support it; but that such a way of living would bring all the family to ruin and beggary, and the like.

By and by she carried him into another parlour, and there he did just the same; he told her he admired what her lady meant; that she lived in a figure which sir John's estate could never maintain, and she would but ruin him, and bring him into debt, and so he would be undone by her extravagance.

Upon this the maid began to take him short a little, and told him this was all out of the way of what he came about; if the lodgings were too good for him, that was his business indeed, but else he had nothing to do with her lady, and how she pleased to furnish her house: that her master was a gentleman of a great estate, and had large plantations in Jamaica; that he constantly supplied her lady with money, sufficient for her support, and for all her expenses: and she wondered he should trouble himself with that which she was sure was none of his business; in short, the girl huffed him, and asked him what it was to him who was a stranger, how her lady lived.

However he turns to the maid, and sitting down again, calmly entered into some discourse with her about her lady, and her way of living, and told so many of the secrets of the family to her, that she began to use him better, and to perceive that he knew more of the family than she thought he had, or indeed than she did herself; at last the wench began to be uneasy, and to question in her thought, whether it was not her master himself, come over incognito, and only that he had not yet discovered himself.

She tried several times to learn who he was, his quality, his country, his name, and how she might send to him; but he put it off, only told her he would go to ———, where her lady lodged, and wait upon her lady himself; and so treating the servant very civilly, and thanking her for showing him the house, he went away in form, with his servant following him, so that he did not vanish as an apparition at all.

Yet the poor wench was very uneasy, she began to think it could not be an ordinary creature, because he gave such strange and particular accounts of things done in the family; as where several things were deposited that belonged to the family, with several circumstances belonging to her mistress, to her little son, and to his father in the West Indies; and, in short, said some things, which, as she said, none but the Devil could tell of; which, by the way, was talking as ignorant people talk of such things, namely, that if anything be said, or done, out of the ordinary way, and more than is common for men to talk or do, they immediately say it must be the Devil.

It must be confessed, it shows a difference between the present and the past ages: in former times, if a man did extraordinary things, he was looked upon as inspired from heaven; or if great miraculous things were wrought, it was said im-

mediately to be from heaven : *Come see a man that has told me all that ever I did*, says the woman of Samaria, John iv. 29 ; and it follows, *Is not this the Christ?* She did not say presently, *This must be the Devil.* *Never man spake like this man!* say the messengers sent to apprehend Jesus Christ, and away they came without him, struck with awful apprehensions, John vii. 49, not concluding presently that it was the Devil. *No man could do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him*, John iii. 2. He does not say, *No man could do such miracles as these*, but it must be the Devil ; on the contrary, his conclusion is, *We know*, by these miracles, *that thou art a teacher sent from God.* But now, if anything be done extraordinary, or said surprisingly, it must be the Devil ; as if God had ceased to work, and all extraordinaries were committed to the Devil.

Thus the Pertuis Rostan, which is a wonderful passage cut through a mountain near Briançon, on the frontiers of Dauphiné, called one of the five wonders of Dauphiné, is said to be the work of the Devil ; only because the people have no history recording the time or manner of its making, or by whom ; and because they think it past the power of men's hands : and the like of many places and things in England. But this is a digression.

The poor wench I am speaking of was surprised very much at this gentleman, and more after he was gone, than before ; for he did not give her time before, to reflect upon the particulars he mentioned to her, but following one thing with another, he found her enough to do to take in the heads of things in the gross.

But when he was gone, and she came to reflect, and lay things together, she began to consider, who must this be ? how could he know such and such

things? how could he tell whose picture that was? where my mistress had such a suit of curtains, and such a cabinet? who must he be, to tell me how long my master has been at Jamaica, how much his estate is there, and how much money he has sent my lady over, in so and so long time? this must be the Devil in my master's clothes, something must be in it, I will go to my lady, and let her know it all: and with this the maid gets a woman, that used to be trusted in such cases, to look after the house, and away she goes to ———, to her mistress, without so much as staying to dress her.

Indeed I think it is a part of the story, that the gentleman desired she would acquaint her mistress with it; that such a person had been there; and gave her some particular tokens, by which he said her mistress would understand who he was; and that she should tell her what he said, that her income would not support the expenses she lived at, but that it would bring her to ruin, and she would be undone; but this part I do not positively remember; but that he told the maid it would be so, that I am particular in.

However, the poor girl, the more she ruminated upon the thing, the more she was frightened and disordered about it; and away she went, as I have said, to give her lady an account of it: and she was the more eager to go also, because she understood him that he intended to wait upon her himself, to talk about the lodgings; and so she would prepare her lady to receive him, and to consider what kind of a man it must be, that she might not be frightened at him: but he had been too quick for the maid.

When she came to ———, she found her mistress thrown down upon the bed very ill, and so ill, that at first they told her she could not speak with her. Don't tell me, says Mary, (that is, the London

maid,) I must speak with her, and will speak with her, for I have extraordinary business with her. What extraordinary business can you have? says the lady's woman, taunting at her; if your business was from the Devil, you can't speak with my lady just now, for she is very ill, and laid down upon the bed.

From the Devil! says Mary: I don't know but it may, and I believe it is indeed, and I must speak with my lady immediately.

Nay, says the woman, here has been one messenger too many from the Devil already, I think; sure you don't come of his errand too, do ye?

I don't know whose errand I come of, but I am frightened out of my wits; let me speak with my lady presently, or I shall die before I deliver my message.

Die! says the woman: I wish my lady don't die before she can hear it; pr'ythee, Mary, if it be anything to fright her, don't tell it her just now, for she is almost frightened to death already.

Why, says Mary, has my lady seen anything?

Ay, ay: seen! says the woman, she has seen and heard too; here has been a man here, has brought her some dreadful tidings, I don't know what it is.

They talked this so loud, or were so near, that the lady heard something of it, and immediately she rung a bell for her woman.

When the woman went in, Who is that below, says she, talking so earnestly? Is anybody come in from London?

Yes, madam, says her woman, here is Mary come to speak with your ladyship.

Mary come! says she, with a surprise, what's the matter? what, has she seen anything too? mercy on me, what's the matter? what does she say?

She does not say much, madam, says the woman,

but she wants mightily to speak with your ladyship, and is in a great hurry.

What, says the lady, is she frightened?

I believe she is, says the woman, but she won't tell anything but to yourself.

O, I shall die! says the lady; call her up.

Pray, madam, says her woman, don't call her up till your ladyship has recovered yourself a little from your other disorders; she'll tell you some wild tale or other of her own imagination, that will raise the vapours, and do you a mischief.

O, says the lady, let me hear it, let it be what it will; if it be from the Devil, it can't be worse than it is; call her up, I must speak with her.

Accordingly Mary came up, and the woman was ordered to withdraw.

As soon as the door was shut, her lady burst out into tears again, for she had been crying vehemently before. O Mary, says she, I have had a dreadful visit this afternoon, here has been your master.

My master! Why, madam, that's impossible.

Nay, it has been your master to be sure, or the Devil in his likeness.

In a word, it is certain it was her husband in apparition, or an apparition of her husband, and he talked very warmly and closely to her, and told her his estate would not support her expensive way of living, and that she would bring herself to misery and poverty; and a great deal more to the same purpose, as he had said to Mary.

Mary immediately asked her ladyship what manner he appeared in; and by the description that her mistress gave, it was exactly the same figure that came to her, and desired to see the lodgings; so Mary gave her lady a particular relation of what happened to her also, and of the message she was charged to deliver.

What followed upon this alarm, and how the lady was reduced, and obliged to sell her fine furniture and equipage, and came to very low circumstances, though it was a part of the story, is not so much to my purpose in the relation. But what is remarkable to the case in hand is, that they allege, that just at this juncture sir J——O——ne, the lady's husband, died in the West Indies: I suppose by his death her supplies were immediately stopped, and that was the occasion of her being reduced so suddenly.

Now the apparition, and its appearing in the shape or figure of the husband, his warning her of her approaching circumstances, and moving her to abate her expensive way of living, and the like, all this is agreeable to the opinion I have already given, that good spirits may be allowed to assume human shape, and the shape of any particular person, whether the person be dead or living; and may appear to us, to caution us in our wrong measures, to warn us against impending mischiefs, and to direct us in difficulties. And how merciful is it to mankind, that there are such kind monitors at hand, at any time, for our good.

But that this must be just in the article of death, just when the person was dying, and the soul departing; as if the soul could stay in its passage, between life and the eternal state, to call at this or that place, and deliver a message: for example; if it was to be carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom, you must suppose those angels would go about with it from Jamaica to London, to give it leave to speak with his wife, before its translation, before those swift messengers performed their task; nay, that he must stop at the London house, assume a shape for that purpose, talk about the most frivolous things with Mary the servant-maid, and then go with another formal errand to —— to his wife, all this in his journey; and having despatched these

more weighty affairs, then go on for heaven afterwards.

This, I say, has to me no consistency in it, no coherence, it does not hang together in my opinion at all, nor can I make any common sense of it ; no, not if I was to come to the old poetic fictions of Charon and his ferry-boat ; even the old ferry-man would not have stepped out of his way, upon any such business.

What might be done by the agency of those spirits, appointed by the great Lord of all spirit, to attend for the good of his creatures, I have not the least objection against ; but that the soul of the deceased or departed, can come of this errand itself, that I deny, and must insist upon it, that there is neither reason nor religion in it, it is founded wholly in the imagination ; and though the imagination may not in this case form the apparition, yet it is evident the imagination only appropriates it to the person, that is, to the soul of the person, who has really no share in the operation.

Upon this foundation likewise stands the old heathen notion, taken from the case of Achilles and his friend Patroclus, that the soul of the deceased cannot be at rest till he has come and given notice of such and such things ; that justice be done to such and such injured persons ; and money, so and so appropriated, be regularly disposed, and the will of the deceased punctually performed : these I take not to be imaginary, but fictitious, and made or supplied out of the invention of the relater, in order to dish up the story.

And this makes the story of the duke of Buckingham's father, of which mention has been made already, be liable to so many exceptions : that his father could not rest, or his soul could not be at rest, because of the wicked life his son George lived at court ; that part must certainly be added by some

of the very very many relaters, or who have called themselves relaters, of that story; and my lord Clarendon, who seems to have been the most exact and judicious in the putting the whole story together, has none of that passage in his account of it, as we shall see presently.

Upon what religious foundation can we suggest, that the sins of the children should disquiet the fathers in their graves, or that the souls departed can receive any impression from the behaviour of those in life, subsequent to any action those souls departed have been concerned in?

That they may be affected in a future state with the wickedness and offences committed in their past life, that I will not doubt; though even not that in such a manner as to send them back hither upon any errand about it; for all is irretrievable; as there is no repentance, so no reparation; there is neither work nor invention in the grave, whither we are all going. The soul may be in a state of self-reflection and reproach; but not in a state of reaction, no recovering for ourselves, nor concern for others; it is all out of the question, and all the notices from the other side of the curtain come from other hands, whose name soever they may speak in, or whose shape soever they may assume.

I am forced, how reluctant soever, to talk Scripture to my readers, upon this nice part of the subject; whether they will lay any weight upon it or no, be that to themselves.

I insist upon it that the souls of the dead can make no visits hither when once they are removed; that when they are unembodied, disrobed of flesh and blood, they have no more concern with or about us, so as either to disturb their rest or ours; and this is plain to me, not only from the nature of the thing, from reason and observation, but from the Scripture. Eccl. ix. 5. *For the living know that*

they shall die: but the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward; for the memory of them is forgotten. This latter part relates to their having any reward or concern in things here of this life, no more reward or benefit or share of things here: but look into the next words, ver. 6. *Also their love and their hatred, and their envy, is now perished; neither have they any more a portion for ever in anything that is done under the sun.*

What can be plainer than this, if Scripture be of any moment among us? if not, I can say nothing to that. But I say, what can be plainer, and what do those people mean who tell us a ghost or spirit appeared, and said it could not be at rest till it had come to do so and so, till it had discovered such and such things, and till it had seen it well performed?

If my vote in this case may be of any value, or I may offer anything by way of direction to weaker heads, let them make this one thing a character or mark to know such things by, or to judge of them, viz. that when they meet with any story told in such a manner, they should conclude it a fiction, a cheat; that it is only a story made by the invention of story-makers, a delusion, and that no spirit or apparition really coming upon any message from the invisible world ever talks after that manner; or that if they do, it is a cheat of the Devil to carry on some delusion, and to make some lie appear plausible; for that there can be no reality in it, that's asserted as above, *The dead know not anything*, not anything here: but their love, and their hatred, and their envy is perished.

We have another story to offer in this case, which has been mentioned, as if it were the act and deed of the person departed; and in whose name it was said to be done, and who, as we may say, was personated in it. I shall relate the story impartially

as I received it, and let all the advantage that can be taken of it be made, I believe it will not amount to any rational conclusion in favour of this notion, that the soul of the person deceased is any way concerned in it, or in any part of it.

This is the famous story of the apparition of one James Haddock, in Ireland, which is published many several ways, and that by several authors: and some of them intimating that it was really the departed soul of James Haddock, who could not be at rest, as some of the writers of the story would insinuate, because his little son, by his wife Eleanor Welsh, was wronged in a lease left by him to the child, but kept from him by her second husband.

The abridged story is this. In the year 1662, an apparition meets one Francis Taverner, on the highway; the man having courage to speak to it, asks it what he is? and the apparition tells him he is James Haddock, and gives him several tokens to remember him by, which Taverner also calling to mind, owns them, and then boldly demands of the apparition what business he had with him; the apparition did not tell his business that night, but would have had Taverner rode back his way with him, and he would tell him his business, which Taverner refused, as well he might; and that part indeed seems the only improbable part of the story.

However, the next night the apparition comes to him again, and then tells him the business, which was to desire him to go to his wife, whose maiden name was Eleanor Welsh, but was then married again to one Davis, which Davis withheld the lease from the orphan, Haddock's son, and tell her she should cause justice to be done to the child.

Taverner neglected to perform this errand, and was so continually followed by the apparition, that it was exceeding terrible to him; and at last it

threatened to tear him in pieces, if he did not go of his errand.

Upon this he goes and delivers the message to the woman, who it seems took but small notice of it; and then the apparition came again, and told him he must go to his executor, and do the same errand; which he was, it seems, afraid to do, for fear of Davis; but the apparition threatened Davis if he should attempt to do him, Taverner, any injury.

N. B. Here I am to note, that this story made so much noise in the country, and the particulars appeared to be so faithfully related by Taverner, that abundance of persons of note came to him to have the relation from his own mouth; and among the rest, the lord bishop of Down and Connor, whom I name in reverence, not to his dignity only, or so much as in reverence of his known piety and seriousness in religion: being the famed doctor Jeremy Taylor, author of a known book called *Rules of Holy Living and Dying*.

This reverend father sent for the said Francis Taverner, to examine him about this strange scene of Providence, so the bishop called it; and he did examine him strictly about it, and the account says, his lordship was fully satisfied that the apparition was true and real; that is to say, that it was true that there was really such an apparition.

Now all this is within the bounds of what I have laid down, viz., that there are really apparitions, and these apparitions do personate such and such bodies or shapes, whose names they take upon them, and whose persons they represent.

But for the rest, I think all the notions that the people then entertained of it, and even the bishop among the rest, must be very erroneous and mistaken. For,

1. The bishop entertained the story. as if this apparition was really the soul of the departed James

Haddock, as appeared by a second examination of Taverner, by his lordship; for the lady Conway, and other persons of quality, hearing the bishop had sent for Taverner to examine him, went all away to be present at the examination: and the bishop being gone to a town called Hillsbro' three miles off, the company went all thither, and Taverner was sent for to them, and there examined of all the particulars again, and answered again to the satisfaction of all the company.

But here (and for this reason I relate this part) his lordship, after asking many more questions, concluded by advising Taverner to ask the apparition when it came again, Whence are you? are you a good or an evil spirit? by which is supposed his lordship understood, Are you in a good or bad state? for his next question was, Where is your abode? what station do you hold? how are you regimented in the other world? and what is the reason that you appear for the relief of your son in so small a matter, when so many widows and orphans are oppressed in the world, being defrauded of greater matters, and none from thence of their relations appear to right them?

And the very same night, Taverner meeting the apparition again, who, it seems, was fully satisfied with what he had done in delivering the message to the executor; at this appearing, Taverner asked him the questions above, but it gave him no answer; and indeed it could not be expected that curiosity should be answered.

For, as I said above, it is evident by the questions, the bishop, in all these examinations, fell in with the vulgar error of the time about such apparitions, namely, that it was the soul of James Haddock; and well indeed might he ask how he came to appear, when others in cases of greater moment did not.

But he should have asked, How is it possible you that are dead should be acquainted with these circumstances, when the word of God says expressly, the dead know not anything, and that all their love and hatred is perished? Had he asked him that, perhaps he might have told him that he was not the soul of James Haddock, but a good spirit sent from the invisible world, by the especial direction of Heaven, to right a poor, ruined, oppressed orphan, abandoned to injury by its own unnatural mother. But to talk of the soul of James Haddock, and what station it held in the other world, the apparition might well go away, and give no answer to it.

Nor in any of this discourse did the apparition pretend it was not at rest, or could not be at rest till justice was done to the child, or till the message was delivered: the apparition was too just to itself to say so: and, on the other hand, it is to me one of the most convincing proofs, that it was really an apparition, or appearance of a spirit.

Now, as in other cases, what spirit it was, may be worth taking notice of; here is not the least room to suggest that it was the Devil, or an evil spirit; and therefore the bishop was wrong in that too, to ask if it was a good or evil spirit; for how should his wisdom judge, who was himself a good man, that an evil spirit should come of a good errand, to right an injured orphan, an oppressed fatherless child? The Devil, or any evil spirit, could hardly be supposed to move about such business.

It is to be observed here, and should have been added to the story, that the said Davis and his wife, though, it seems, much against his will, did give up the lease to the child, the son of that James Haddock; with this dismal circumstance attending it, viz., that about five years after, and when the bishop was dead, one Costlet, who was the child's trustee,

threatened to take away the lease again, railed at Taverner, and made terrible imprecations upon himself if he knew of the lease, and threatened to go to law with the orphan. But one night being drunk at the town of Hill Hall, near Lisbourn in Ireland, where all this scene was laid, going home, he fell from his horse and never spoke more, and so the child enjoyed the estate peaceably ever after.

In a word, the little injured orphan seemed to be the care of Heaven in a particular manner ; and the good angel which appeared in its behalf without doubt executed God's justice upon the wicked drunken oppressor, the trustee; and as he imprecated vengeance on himself, so that same spirit might be commissioned to see it fall upon him.

And here it most naturally occurs to observe, that the departed souls of men and women dead and buried, cannot be supposed to have any commission to execute particular vengeance on any in this world ; the supposition of this would bring a confused medley of notions upon us, such as would be inconsistent not with religion only, but even with common sense ; and which need not take up any of our pains to confute them.

Nothing has more filled the idle heads of the old women of these latter ages, than the stories of ghosts and apparitions coming to people, to tell them where money was hidden, and how to find it ; and it is wonderful to me that such tales should make such impressions, and that sometimes among wise and judicious people too, as we find they have done. How many old houses have been almost pulled down, and pits fruitlessly dug in the earth, at the ridiculous motion of pretended apparitions ! of which I shall speak more in its place.

I have hitherto studiously avoided giving you any accounts, however extraordinary, that have been

already made public ; but this one, which relates to the assassination of the great duke of Buckingham, (whether famous or infamous I know not which to determine him,) in the time of the late king Charles I. I cannot omit, because the various manner of its being related so eminently touches the case in hand.

That the duke of Buckingham was stabbed by one lieutenant Felton at Portsmouth, as he was going upon an expedition for the relief of Rochelle, history is so full of it, and all that know anything of our English annals are so well acquainted with the story of it, that I need say nothing to introduce that part. Mr. Aubrey takes upon him to relate the story of an apparition upon this occasion in the following manner :

To one Mr. Towes who had been schoolfellow with sir George Villers, the father of the first duke of Buckingham, and was his friend and neighbour, as he lay in his bed awake (and it was daylight) came into his chamber the phantom of his dear friend sir George Villers. Said Mr. Towes to him, Why, you are dead ! What makes you here ? Said the knight, I am dead, but cannot rest in peace for the wickedness and abomination of my son George at court. I do appear to you to tell him of it, and to advise and dehort him from his evil ways. Said Mr. Towes, The duke will not believe me, but will say that I am mad, or dote. Said sir George, Go to him from me, and tell him by such a token (a mole) that he had in some secret place, which none but himself knew of. Accordingly Mr. Towes went to the duke, who laughed at his message. At his return home, the phantom appeared again, and told that the duke would be stabbed (he drew out a dagger) a quarter of a year after ; which accordingly happened.

This part of the story indeed is calculated like a

true chimney-corner piece of news ; that sir George, who was dead, should say he could not rest in peace for the wickedness and abomination of his son George at court.

Preposterous ! What state must old sir George be in ? If in a state of misery, what does he mean by resting in peace ? if in a state of blessedness, what could his son do to impeach his rest ? And if we shall give any weight to what the Scripture says in that case, he knew nothing of him, let his own state or his son's abominations, as he calls them, be what they would. See Job xiv. 19, 20, 21. *The waters wear the stones : thou wastest away the things which grow out of the dust of the earth ; and thou destroyest the hope of man. Thou prevailest for ever against him ; and he passeth : thou changest his countenance, and sendest him away. His sons come to honour, and he knoweth it not ; and they are brought low, but he perceiveth it not of them.*

It is plain here that the hope (that is the knowledge and wisdom) of man as to this world, is destroyed and washed away in death ; his sons may rise or fall, be great or little, high or low, good or evil, it is all one to him, he knows nothing of it. How then could sir George Villers say, several years after he was dead too, that he could not rest in peace ? What ! had he been at rest and in peace, and was he disquieted again by his son George's wickedness ? That does not hang together at all. The old knight had been dead several years before his son George came to rise at court ; when he did rise, he was not immediately so abominably wicked as he was afterward. Where then was the soul of sir George the father, all the while ? his rest could not be disturbed, till the circumstances that disturbed it happened.

But my lord Clarendon tells this same story, with much more probability of truth ; for first he leaves

out the absurdity, which indeed his lordship was too wise a man to impose upon the world with the sanction of his authority, nor was there sense enough in it to give it credit.

In the next place he does not make the person to whom sir George Villers appeared, be an equal, and an intimate friend, but one that had lived in the same town where sir George had lived, and had not seen him for many years, but recollected him from the clothes he had seen him wear; whereas the story above makes them dear friends, which if it had been so, it was not likely he should refuse to hear the message, and yet he scruples it very much.

But there are more discordant circumstances in the story. Let us take the lord Clarendon's relation, which is done with an apparent regard to truth, and is as follows:—

The account of the apparition of sir George Villers, relating to the murder of the duke of Buckingham, his son, as taken from the lord Clarendon's history, vol. i. fol. 34, 35, as follows :

There were many stories scattered abroad at that time of several prophecies and predictions of the duke's untimely and violent death; amongst the rest there was one which was upon a better foundation of credit than usually such discourses are founded upon.

There was an officer in the king's wardrobe in Windsor Castle, of a good reputation for honesty and discretion, and then about the age of fifty years or more.

This man had in his youth been bred in a school in the parish where sir George Villers, the father of the duke, lived, and had been much cherished and obliged in that season of his age by the said sir George, whom afterwards he never saw.

About six months before the miserable end of the duke of Buckingham, about midnight, this man being in his bed at Windsor, where his office was, and in very good health, there appeared to him on the side of his bed, a man of a very venerable aspect, who drew the curtains of his bed, and, fixing his eyes upon him, asked him if he knew him.

The poor man, half dead with fear and apprehension, being asked the second time whether he remembered him, and having in that time called to his memory the presence of sir George Villers, and the very clothes he used to wear, in which at that time he seemed to be habited, he answered him, that he thought him to be that person ; he replied, he was in the right, that he was the same, and that he expected a service from him, which was, that he should go from him to his son, the duke of Buckingham, and tell him, if he did not somewhat to ingratiate himself to the people, or, at least, to abate the extreme malice which they had against him, he would be suffered to live but a short time.

After this discourse he disappeared, and the poor man (if he had been at all waking) slept very well till morning, when he believed all this to be a dream, and considered it no otherwise.

The next night, or shortly after, the same person appeared to him again, in the same place, and about the same time of the night, with an aspect a little more severe than before, and asked him whether he had done as he had required of him ; and perceiving he had not, gave him very severe reprehensions, told him he expected more compliance from him, and that if he did not perform his commands he should enjoy no peace of mind, but should always be pursued by him ; upon which he promised him to obey. But the next morning, waking out of a good sleep, though he was exceedingly perplexed with the lively

representation of all particulars to his memory, he was willing still to persuade himself that he had only dreamed, and considered that he was a person at such a distance from the duke, that he knew not how to find out any admission to his presence, much less had any hope to be believed in what he should say ; so with great trouble and inquietness he spent some time in thinking what he should do ; and in the end resolved to do nothing in the matter.

The same person appeared to him the third time, with a terrible countenance, and bitterly reproaching him for not performing what he had promised to do. The poor man had by this time recovered the courage to tell him, that, in truth, he had deferred the execution of his commands upon considering how difficult a thing it would be for him to get any access to the duke, having acquaintance with no person about him ; and if he should obtain admission to him, he should never be able to persuade him that he was sent in such a manner ; that he should at least be thought to be mad, or to be set on and employed by his own, or the malice of other men to abuse the duke ; and so he should be sure to be undone.

The person replied, as he had done before, that he should never find rest till he should perform what he required, and therefore he were better to despatch it ; that the access to his son was known to be very easy, and that few men waited long for him ; and for the gaining him credit, he would tell him two or three particulars, which he charged him never to mention to any person living but to the duke himself, and he should no sooner hear them but he should believe all the rest he should say ; and so, repeating his threats, he left him.

In the morning the poor man, more confirmed by the last appearance, made his journey to London,

where the court then was ; he was very well known to sir Ralph Freeman, one of the masters of requests, who married a lady that was nearly allied to the duke, and was himself well received by him : to him this man went, and though he did not acquaint him with all the particulars, he said enough to let him know there was something extraordinary in it ; and the knowledge he had of the sobriety and discretion of the man, made the more impression on him : he desired that by his means he might be brought to the duke, in such a place, and in such a manner, as should be thought fit, affirming that he had much to say to him, and of such a nature as would require much privacy, and some time and patience in the hearing.

Sir Ralph promised he would speak first with the duke of him, and then he should understand his pleasure ; and accordingly, the first opportunity, he did inform him of the reputation and honesty of the man, and then what he desired, and of all he knew of the matter.

The duke, according to his usual openness and condescension, told him, that he was the next day early to hunt with the king, that his horses should attend him at Lambeth-bridge, where he should land by five of the clock in the morning ; and if the man attended him there at that hour, he would walk and speak with him as long as should be necessary.

Sir Ralph carried the man with him the next morning, and presented him to the duke at his landing, who received him courteously, and walked aside in conference near an hour ; none but his own servants being at that hour in that place, and they and sir Ralph at such a distance that they could not hear a word, though the duke sometimes spoke loud, and with great commotion, which sir Ralph the more easily observed and perceived, because he

kept his eyes always fixed upon the duke, having procured the conference upon somewhat he knew there was of extraordinary.

The man told him, in his return over the water, that when he mentioned those particulars which were to gain him credit, (the substance whereof he said he durst not impart unto him,) the duke's colour changed, and he swore he could come at that knowledge only by the Devil, for that those particulars were only known to himself and to one person more, who he was sure would never speak of it.

The duke pursued his purpose of hunting, but was observed to ride all the morning with great pensiveness and in deep thoughts, without any delight in the exercise he was upon: and before the morning was spent, left the field, and alighted at his mother's lodgings in Whitehall, with whom he was shut up for the space of two or three hours; the noise of their discourse frequently reaching the ears of those who attended in the next rooms. And when the duke left her, his countenance appeared full of trouble, with a mixture of anger; a countenance that was never before observed in him in any conversation with her, towards whom he had a profound reverence; and the countess herself (for though she was married to a private gentleman, sir Thomas Compton, she had been created countess of Buckingham, shortly after her son had first assumed that title) was at the duke's leaving her found overwhelmed in tears, and in the highest agony imaginable.

Whatever there was of all this, it is notorious truth, that when the news of the duke's murder (which happened within a few months after) was brought to his mother, she seemed not in the least degree surprised, but received it as if she had fore-

seen it; nor did afterwards express such a degree of sorrow as was expected from such a mother for the loss of such a son.

Besides the above-named clashing circumstances in the differing relation of this story, there are one or two that are very material, as will appear by the following remarks.

1. Aubrey says, Mr. Towes, as he calls him, went to the duke, and told him the token; notwithstanding which, the duke laughed at his message: whereas my lord Clarendon tells just the contrary, that the duke gave him an open, though a very particular audience; all his attendants keeping at a distance, and that he held him in that earnest discourse for an hour.

2. Aubrey says, the token sir George gave to enforce or engage his son's attention, was, that he (the duke) had a mole in such a private part of his body; but my lord says, the token given was of such a nature as the duke swore none but the Devil and one person in the world could know, and that he was sure that one person would not speak of it; and that the duke was extremely disturbed when he heard of it.

(Fame, though with some privacy, says, that the secret token was an incestuous breach of modesty between the duke and a certain lady too nearly related to him, which it surprised the duke to hear of; and that as he thought he had good reason to be sure the lady would not tell it of herself, so he thought none but the Devil could tell it besides her; and this astonished him, so that he was very far from receiving the man slightly, or laughing at his message.)

What this apparition then was, and from whom, or from whence, remains to be decided. That the thing was real, is too well attested; it comes loaded with so many concurring circumstances, and

told in the hearing of so many witnesses of good fame and credit, that there is no room to question the fact; and as to the various ways of relating it, the truth of the whole is not abated by it at all: only, as is natural to things of this nature which pass through so many hands, every one expressing themselves their own way, though meaning the same thing, they often vary at last in the very substance, by only varying at first in the circumstances.

The truth of the matter is, at last, that the apparition foretold his ruin, and it soon followed. Now that this apparition could not be the Devil, is evident from the reasons laid down before in the like cases. How can we suppose the Devil would be offended with the wicked life and abominable practices of the duke of Buckingham at court? His incestuous lewdness, and whatever other scandalous practices he allowed himself in, the Devil might perhaps encourage and prompt him to, but he would never send a messenger to him to warn him against them, and to alarm him with apprehensions of danger attending him if he did not reform. This is none of the Devil's business, it is quite foreign to him, it would be the weakest thing in the world to suggest it of him.

Again, if it were anything immediately from heaven, it would have been effectual to have awakened and reformed him; but as it might be a kind messenger from another part of the invisible world, where his approaching fate was known, and who having given him this notice, left his reformation in his own power, and laid the necessity of it before the eyes of his reason, as well as of his conscience, and that after this his fall was of himself; this makes it all rational, and easy to be understood, and is agreeable to the ordinary custom of Providence in like cases, of which many examples might be given in the world.

Nor is it strange that the apparition should personate the old deceased father of the duke, and assume his shape, to add, as it were, a solemnity to the message, and give it a greater influence upon the mind of the duke; and the same messenger might have assumed any other shape or person if it had thought fit, whether living or dead.

But if the shape assumed was the most likely to give weight to the errand it was to be sent about, we are not to wonder at all that a spirit employed, or employing itself on an errand of such importance, should be able to single out such appearances, or such shapes and persons, to appear in the figure of, as were aptest to enforce the message. The well-choosing the person is to me a testimony for, not against, the goodness, the judgment and capacity, of the personating spirit, and would with just reasoning confirm to us the validity of the message, and of the messenger also.

And yet it is very reasonable to believe that sir George Villers, thus seeming to appear, and whose surface or outside is put on like a masquerade habit upon this occasion, knew nothing of it, and had no manner of concern in it. Nothing is more wonderful in any part of the story to me, than that men of sense and learning, as some such have been, could be prevailed upon, or rather could prevail upon themselves, to publish to the world such incongruous, such irrational things as these; that a man dead, perhaps twenty years before, I think it is so much at least, should appear, and say he could not rest in peace for such and such things. And in another of the same author's stories, an apparition is brought in appearing to Dr. Turberville's sister, being a lady who was dead, and had left some children to her husband, which children were injured by a second wife, contrary to the settlement of the first wife's marriage; and this settlement of the first mar-

riage, was, it seems, hid behind the wainscot, in such and such a place, which nobody knew of but the children's mother, that is to say, the first wife. This lady appeared to discover where this writing lay, and tells the person to whom she discovered it, that till she had made this discovery, she had wandered in the air, but that now she was going to God.

Strange! that Mr. Glanvil, Aubrey, and others, could publish such a story as this, without some just inquiries to reconcile it to common sense, as well as to religion; as particularly how long this lady had been dead; for it seems to have been some years, the husband being married again, and the children being in danger of being wronged by the children of the second venter. Now, did the soul of the first lady wander all that while in the air, to see whether there should be any occasion for her to vindicate her children's right, or no? Did she stay from going to God all that while, only for discovering a concealed deed, that her children might not be wronged? How shall we make such a thing out to be rational? What notions of religion, or of a future state, will support it?

Why did she not immediately discover where the deed or marriage-settlement lay, and put it into the hands of some honest people, in trust for her children? and then she had not need to have wandered in the air till it had been done.

They must have very low-prized thoughts of heaven, and of going to God, after the departing or separating of the soul from the body in life, who think the passage can be interrupted by any of the affairs of this life left unfinished. If even our repentance unfinished, our peace with God unfinished, can never be retrieved, if time is not to be recalled; but that as the tree falls, so it shall lie: shall we pretend the soul shall be stopped and interrupted in

its passage, to retrieve the injustice and violence done to the orphans, or relicts of the family? Shall the soul be brought back to find out old hidden parchments, or as it is pretended in other like stories, to dig up old long-buried money, and the like?

No, no; those things should be done in time: like repentance, they should not be left to that hazard; for we may depend, there is no work, or device, or invention in the grave, whither we are all going.

That there are invisible agents, which in pursuance of the government of Providence in the world, may be made instruments, to act in such cases as these; to discover writings which being concealed, may ruin families, rob and plunder orphans, and distress the right heirs of estates, and in many like cases, this need not be denied, and is indeed not to be disputed; and it is a glorious testimony to the justice of Providence, that in such cases he does not abandon the widows and the orphans, who for want of lost or concealed deeds, are sometimes in danger of being undone by violence and rapine. But all this is easier to be understood to be done without interruption of the ordinary course of things, without obstructing the soul's passage into its determined state of happiness or misery; which it must be the weakest, and indeed the wickedest thing in the world, to think can be diverted by these trifles; and whose direct progression is plainly stated in the Scripture in these words: *It is appointed unto all men once to die, and after death the judgment*: or immediately after death to judgment, at least so as nothing to prevent or intervene, Heb. ix. 27. *It is appointed*, and surely these things can never break in upon that solemn appointment.

Besides, it is an evident impeachment of the

power and justice, as well as the wisdom of Providence, in his disposition of things, as if he could not find out ways to do right to injured orphans, or to detect the injustice and oppression of violent and unreasonable men, but the soul of the departed mother must be kept out of heaven to do it herself. Horrid absurdity! and inconsistent with all the notions that true religion has inspired us with, relating to a future state, and to the gulf that is fixed between this and that.

The soul can no more be kept out from, or delayed its entrance into heaven, if its portion be appointed for happiness, by any concern for the affairs of this world, than it can be disquieted after it is entered those realms of peace, and disturbed or brought back from thence upon any account whatsoever.

The very thoughts of it are so mean, so low-rated and base, that it is unworthy of our reason, but especially of our Christian reasoning powers, to entertain them. I take this absurdity indeed to be much of the cause of that just ridicule, which the wiser part of mankind have put upon most of the stories which are told among us about witchcraft and apparitions; for that they are told with such evident inconsistencies, that they cannot go down with rational people. Who can believe what cannot be true? who can make a serious thing of a piece of ridiculous nonsense? That a soul dismissed from life, and going directly into heaven, shall be called back by the cry of the children after her, with a Hold! stay mother! come back, and come and tell us where the writings are for your jointure, or we shall be undone! and the poor mother, uncased, unembodied, must come back, dismiss the angels that were carrying her into Abraham's bosom, and bid them come for her another time; and here she must hover about we know not how

many years, to do right to these children. Sure the same power that could thus interrupt her passage into heaven, might have prevented her separating from the body, and she might with as much ease, and less injustice to herself, have been kept out of the grave, as kept out of heaven.

But I am sick of the very repetition ; the delusion is so gross, I say it is not to be wondered that we are shocked by it in our belief of the thing called apparition in general. The ridiculous part discredits the real part, and it being so surfeiting to our reason to hear the first part, we throw off our patience, and will hear nothing at all of it.

It is true we should not do thus ; the reality of the thing, abstracted from these distracted and enthusiastic notions, is not lessened : it is our business then to reject the foolish part, which indeed has almost smothered and buried the rest in its dust and rubbish, and let us judge rightly of things as they are. There is no want of examples, where (Providence permitting) apparition has made discoveries of villanous and dishonest actions and designs, detected violence and murder, done right to injured and oppressed widows, and fatherless children ; and this without such a monstrous and inconsistent addition, as that of bringing back the soul from its entrance into heaven, or disturbing its rest and peace in a future state : things too gross to be so much as named among Christians, whose faith in things future is too well established to be capable of receiving any impressions from such delusions.

I have an example in story very particular to this case ; and which my author assures me of the truth of, though never yet published in print : the story is told of the late reverend Dr. Scot, a man whose learning and piety were eminent, and whose

judgment was known to be so good, as not to be easily imposed upon.

The doctor, as I have the story related, was sitting alone by the fire, either in his study or his parlour in Broad-street where he lived, and reading a book, his door being shut fast and locked; he was well assured there was nobody in the room but himself, when accidentally raising his head a little, he was exceedingly surprised to see sitting in an elbow-chair at the other side of the fireplace or chimney, an ancient grave gentleman in a black velvet gown, a long wig, and looking with a pleasing countenance towards him (the doctor) as if just going to speak.

(Another person relating this story, says the ancient gentleman appeared standing, and having just opened the door of the doctor's study, he was come in; and saluting the doctor, spoke first to him: but the difference is but small.)

The relations agree in this part, that the doctor was greatly surprised at the sight of him; and indeed the seeing him as sitting in a chair was the most likely to be surprising; because the doctor knowing the door to be locked, and then seeing a man sitting in the chair, he must immediately and at first sight conclude him to be a spirit, or apparition, or Devil, call it as you will; whereas seeing him come in at the door, he might at first sight suppose him to be really a gentleman come to speak with him, and might think he had omitted fastening the door, as he intended to have done.

But be it which of the two it will, the doctor appeared in great disorder at the sight, as he acknowledged to those to whom he told the story, and from whom I received this account, with very little remove of hands between.

The spectre it seems began, for the doctor had not courage at first, as he said, to speak to it; I say, the

spectre or apparition spoke first, and desired the doctor not to be frightened, not to be surprised, for that he would not do him any hurt; but that he came to him upon a matter of great importance to an injured family, which was in great danger of being ruined; and that though he (the doctor) was a stranger to the family, yet knowing him to be a man of integrity, he had pitched upon him to do an act of very great charity, as well as justice; and that he could depend upon him for a punctual performance.

The doctor was not at first composed enough to receive the introduction of the business with a due attention; but seemed rather inclined to get out of the room if he could, and once or twice made some attempt to knock for some of the family to come up, at which the apparition appeared a little displeased.

But it seems he need not; for, as the doctor said, he had no power to go out of the room if he had been next the door, or to knock for help if any had been at hand.

But here the apparition seeing the doctor still in confusion, desired him again to compose himself, for he would not do him the least injury, or offer anything to make him uneasy; but desired that he would give him leave to deliver the business he came about, which when he had heard, perhaps he would see less cause to be surprised or apprehensive than he did now.

By this time, and by the calm way of discourse above mentioned, the doctor recovered himself so much, though not with any kind of composure, as to speak.

In the name of God, says the doctor, what art thou?

I desire you would not be frightened, says the apparition to him again; I am a stranger to you, and if I tell you my name, you do not know it; but you may do the business without inquiring.

The doctor continued still discomposed and uneasy, and said nothing for some time.

The apparition spoke again to him not to be surprised, and received only for answer the old ignorant question,

In the name of God, what art thou?

Upon this the spectre seemed displeased, as if the doctor had not treated him with respect; and expostulated a little with him, telling him he could have terrified him into a compliance, but that he chose to come calmly and quietly to him; and used some other discourses, so civil and obliging, that by this time he began to be a little more familiar, and at length the doctor asked,

What is it you would have with me?

At this the apparition, as if gratified with the question, began his story thus:

I lived in the county of——

(I do not exactly remember the county he named; but it was in some of the western counties of England.)

where I left a very good estate, which my grandson enjoys at this time. But he is sued for the possession by my two nephews, the sons of my younger brother.

(Here he gave him his own name, the name of his younger brother, and the names of his two nephews; but I am not allowed to publish the names in this relation, nor might it be proper, for many reasons.)

Here the doctor interrupted, and asked him how long the grandson had been in possession of the estate; which he told him was—— years, intimating that he had been so long dead.

Then he went on, and told him that his nephews would be too hard for his grandson in the suit, and would out him of the mansion-house and estate; so that he would be in danger of being entirely ruined, and his family be reduced.

Still the doctor could not see into the matter, or what he could do to help or remedy the evil that threatened the family; and therefore asked him some questions: for now they began to be a little better acquainted than at first.

Says the doctor, And what am I able to do in it, if the law be against him?

Why, says the spectre, it is not that the nephews have any right; but the grand deed of settlement, being the conveyance of the inheritance, is lost; and for want of that deed they will not be able to make out their title to the estate.

Well, says the doctor, and still what can I do in the case?

Why, says the spectre, if you will go down to my grandson's house, and take such persons with you as you can trust, I will give you such instructions as that you shall find out the deed or settlement, which lies concealed in a place where I put it with my own hands, and where you shall direct my grandson to take it out in your presence.

But why then can you not direct your grandson himself to do this? says the doctor.

Ask me not about that, says the apparition; there are divers reasons, which you may know hereafter. I can depend upon your honesty in it, in the mean time; and I will so dispose matters that you shall have your expenses paid you, and be handsomely allowed for your trouble.

After this discourse, and several other expostulations, (for the doctor was not easily prevailed upon to go till the spectre seemed to look angrily, and even to threaten him for refusing,) he did at last promise him to go.

Having obtained a promise of him, he told him he might let his grandson know that he had formerly conversed with his grandfather, (but not how lately, or in what manner,) and ask to see the house; and

that in such an upper room or loft, he should find a great deal of old lumber, old coffers, old chests, and such things as were out of fashion now, thrown by, and piled up upon one another, to make room for more modish furniture, cabinets, chests of drawers, and the like.

That in such a particular corner was such a certain old chest, with an old broken lock upon it, and a key in it, which could neither be turned in the lock, or pulled out of it.

(Here he gave him a particular description of the chest, and of the outside, the lock, and the cover, and also of the inside, and of a private place in it, which no man could come to, or find out, unless the whole chest was pulled in pieces.)

In that chest, says he, and in that place, lies the grand deed, or charter of the estate, which conveys the inheritance, and without which the family will be ruined, and turned out of doors.

After this discourse, and the doctor promising to go down into the country and despatch this important commission, the apparition, putting on a very pleasant and smiling aspect, thanked him, and disappeared.

After some days, and within the time limited by the proposal of the spectre, the doctor went down accordingly into ——shire ; and finding the gentleman's house very readily, by the direction, knocked at the door, and asked if he was at home ; and after being told he was, and the servants telling their master it was a clergyman, the gentleman came to the door, and very courteously invited him in.

After the doctor had been there some time he observed the gentleman received him with an unexpected civility, though a stranger, and without business ; they entered into many friendly discourses, and the doctor pretended to have heard much of the family, (as, indeed, he had,) and of his

grandfather, From whom, sir, says he, I perceive the estate more immediately descends to yourself.

Ay, says the gentleman, and shook his head, my father died young, and my grandfather has left things so confused, that for want of one principal writing, which is not yet come to hand, I have met with a great deal of trouble from a couple of cousins, my grandfather's brother's children, who have put me to a great deal of charge about it. And with that the doctor, seeming a little inquisitive,

But I hope you have got over it, sir, says he.

No, truly, says the gentleman, to be so open with you; we shall never get quite over it, unless we can find this old deed; which, however, I hope we shall find, for I intend to make a general search for it.

I wish, with all my heart, you may find it, sir, says the doctor.

I don't doubt but I shall; I had a strange dream about it but last night, says the gentleman.

A dream about the writing! says the doctor; I hope it was that you should find it then?

I dreamed, says the gentleman, that a strange gentleman came to me, that I had never seen in my life, and helped me to look it. I don't know but you may be the man.

I should be very glad to be the man, I am sure, says the doctor.

Nay, says the gentleman, you may be the man to help me look it.

Ay, sir, says the doctor, I may help you look it, indeed, and I'll do that too, with all my heart; but I would much rather be the man that should help you find it: pray, when do you intend to make a search?

To-morrow, says the gentleman, I had appointed to do it.

But, says the doctor, in what manner do you intend to search?

Why, says the gentleman, 'tis all our opinions that my grandfather was so very much concerned to preserve this writing, and had so much jealousy that some that were about him would take it from him if they could, that he has hid it in some secret place; and I'm resolved I'll pull half the house down but I'll find it, if it be above ground.

Truly, says the doctor, he may have hid it so that you must pull the house down before you find it, and perhaps not then either. I have known such things utterly lost by the very care taken to preserve them.

If it was made of something the fire would not destroy, says the gentleman, I'd burn the house down but I'd find it.

I suppose you have searched all the old gentleman's chests, and trunks, and coffers, over and over? says the doctor.

Ay, says the gentleman, and turned them all inside outward, and there they lie of a heap up in a great loft or garret, with nothing in them; nay, we knocked three or four of them in pieces to search for private drawers, and then I burnt them for anger, though they were fine old cypress chests, that cost money enough when they were in fashion.

I'm sorry you burnt them, says the doctor.

Nay, says the gentleman, I did not burn a scrap of them till they were all split to pieces; and it was not possible there could be anything there.

(This made the doctor a little easy; for he began to be surprised, when he told him he had split some of them out, and burnt them.)

Well, sir, says the doctor, if I can do you any service in your search, I'll come and see you again to-morrow, and wait upon your search with my good wishes.

Nay, says the gentleman, I don't design to part with you ; since you are so kind to offer me your help, you shall stay all night then, and be at the first of it.

The doctor had now gained his point so far as to make himself acquainted and desirable in the house, and to have a kind of intimacy ; so that, though he made as if he would go, he did not want much entreaty to make him stay ; so he consented to lie in the house all night.

A little before evening the gentleman asked him to take a walk in his park, but he put it off with a jest ; I had rather, sir, said he, smiling, you'd let me see this fine old mansion-house, that is to be demolished to-morrow ; methinks I'd fain see the house once, before you pull it down.

With all my heart, says the gentleman. So he carried him immediately up stairs, showed him all the best apartments, and all his fine furniture and pictures ; and coming to the head of the great staircase where they came up, offered to go down again.

But, sir, says the doctor, shall we not go up higher ?

There's nothing there, says he, but garrets and old lofts, full of rubbish, and a place to go out into the turret, and the clock-house.

O, let me see it all, now we are agoing, says the doctor. I love to see the old lofty towers and turrets, the magnificence of our ancestors, though they are out of fashion now ; pray let us see all, now we are going.

Why, it will tire you, says the gentleman.

No, no, says the doctor, if it don't tire you that have seen it so often, it won't tire me, I assure you : pray let us go up. So away the gentleman goes, and the doctor after him.

After they had rambled over the wild part of an old-built great house, which I need not describe, he passes by a great room, the door of which was open, and in it a great deal of old lumber : And what place is this, pray ? says the doctor, looking in at the door, but not offering to go in.

O ! that's the room, says the gentleman softly, because there was a servant attending them, that's the room I told you of, where all the old rubbish lay, the chests, the coffers, and the trunks ; look there, see how they are piled up upon one another almost to the ceiling.

With this the doctor goes in and looks about him ; for this was the place he was directed to, and which he wanted to see : he was not in the room two minutes but he found everything just as the spectre at London had described, went directly to the pile he had been told of, and fixes his eye upon the very chest with the old rusty lock upon it, with the key in it, which would neither turn round, nor come out.

On my word, sir, says the doctor, you have taken pains enough, if you have rummaged all these drawers, and chests, and coffers, and everything that may have been in them.

Indeed, sir, says the gentleman, I have emptied every one of them myself, and looked over all the old musty writings one by one ; with some help, indeed ; but they, every one, passed through my own hand, and under my eye.

Well, sir, says the doctor, I see you have been in earnest, and I find the thing is of great consequence to you : I have a strange fancy come into my head this very moment ; will you gratify my curiosity with but opening and emptying one small chest or coffer that I have cast my eye upon ? there may be nothing in it, for you are satisfied, I believe, that I

was never here before ; but I have a strange notion that there are some private places in it which you have not found ; perhaps there may be nothing in them when they are found.

The gentleman looks at the chest smiling ; I remember opening it very well ; and turning to his servant, Will, says he, don't you remember that chest ? Yes, sir, says Will, very well ; I remember you were so weary you sat down upon the chest when everything was out of it ; you clapped down the lid and sat down, and sent me to my lady to bring you a dram of citron ; you said you were so tired you was ready to faint.

Well, sir, 'twas only a fancy of mine, and very likely to have nothing in it.

'Tis no matter for that, says the gentleman, you shall see it turned bottom up again before your face ; and so you shall all the rest, if you do but speak the word.

Well, sir, says the doctor, if you will oblige me with but that one, I'll trouble you no further.

Immediately the gentleman causes the coffer to be dragged out, and opened ; for it would not be locked, the key would neither lock it nor unlock it : when the papers were all out, the doctor turning his face another way, as if he would look among the papers, but taking little or no notice of the chest, stooped down, and as if supporting himself with his cane, chops his cane into the chest, but snatched it out again hastily, as if it had been a mistake, and turning to the chest he claps the lid of it down, and sits down upon it, as if he was a weary too.

However he takes an opportunity to speak to the gentleman softly, to send away his man a moment ; For I would speak a word or two with you, sir, says he, out of his hearing ; and then recollecting himself, Sir, says he aloud, can you not send for a hammer and a chisel ?

Yes, sir, says the gentleman; Go, Will, says he to his man, fetch a hammer and chisel.

As soon as Will. was gone, Now, sir, says he, let me say a bold word to you; I have found your writing; I have found your grand deed of settlement; I'll lay you a hundred guineas I have it in this coffer.

The gentleman takes up the lid again, handles the chest, looks over every part of it, but could see nothing, he is confounded and amazed! What d'ye mean? says he to the doctor, you have no unusual art I hope, no conjuring in hand; here's nothing but an empty coffer.

Not I, upon my word, says the doctor, I am no magician, no cunning-man, I abhor it; but I tell you again the writing is in this coffer.

The gentleman knocks and calls as if he was frightened, for his man with the hammer, but the doctor sat composed again upon the lid of the coffer.

At last up comes the man with the hammer and chisel, and the doctor goes to work with the chest, knocks upon the flat of the bottom; Hark! says he, don't you hear it, sir, says he, don't you hear it plainly?

Hear what? says the gentleman. I don't understand you indeed.

Why the chest has a double bottom, sir, a false bottom, says the doctor; don't you hear it sound hollow?

In a word, they immediately split the inner bottom open, and there lay the parchment spread abroad flat on the whole breadth of the bottom of the trunk, as a quire of paper is laid on the flat of a drawer.

It is impossible for me to describe the joy and surprise of the gentleman, and soon after of the whole family; for the gentleman sent for his lady and two of his daughters, up into the garret among all the

rubbish, to see not the writing only, but the place where it was found, and the manner how.

You may easily suppose the doctor was caressed with uncommon civilities in the family, and sent up (after about a week's stay) in the gentleman's own coach to London. I do not remember whether he disclosed the secret to the gentleman, or no; I mean the secret of the apparition, by which the place where the writing was to be found, was discovered to him, and who obliged him to come down on purpose to find it: I say, I do not remember that part, neither is it material. As far as I had the story related, so far I have handed it forward: and I have the truth of it affirmed in such a manner, as I cannot doubt it.

Now to observe a little upon this passage, which I am obliged to say is reported to me for truth, and I firmly believe it to be so: certain it is, that finding this writing was of the utmost importance to the family; and though I am not indeed inclined to publish names to the story, or to examine into the particulars, by discoursing with the persons, for some may be yet living, yet I say the establishment of not a family only, but a generation of families might depend upon this writing, and that no doubt made the ancient gentleman lay it up so safe. But why then might not Providence permit, nay even direct one of those intelligent spirits or angels, mentioned above, to give this notice, and in this manner, where the main and only deed or charter for the inheritance was to be found? as well as it has upon many like occasions, or in cases alike in their importance, made strange and unaccountable discoveries of things hid for many ages; and this without apparition, but by a manifest concurrence of causes and accidents next to miracles.

I cannot think but that Providence, whose concern for the good and safety of his creatures is so

universal, and who, it must be acknowledged, is not unconcerned even in the minutest circumstances, may think meet to bring such a thing as this to light, upon which the good and welfare of a whole family did so much depend ; and even to appear in an extraordinary manner in it, without any impeachment of its wisdom or its power ; and if the same Providence that thought fit to save this family from so much injustice as at that time threatened it, thought fit to do it by the agency of a spirit coming in apparition to a third person, so to bring it about as in the ordinary method, what have we to do to dispute the manner ? or what just objection lies against it ?

Upon the whole, here is no devil here, no imaginary phantoms in the air, no voices and noises delusive and imposing upon the fancy one way or other ; no soul appearing, and pretending it cannot be at rest ; and yet here is an apparition directing to find out what was in being, and was to be found, and what justice required should be produced.

Nor could this be the Devil : that wicked agent goes up and down upon a much worse employment. He is busy enough, that is true ; but it is widening breaches in families, not healing them ; in prompting mischief, not preventing it ; tempting man to robbery, to whoredom, to murder, not moving them to repent. As is the errand, such is the messenger ; as is the work, such is the labourer ; and the way of judging is as just as it is certain, it is easy and plain, we cannot fail to know who and who's together.

It is the same in our most retired thoughts ; we may very well know who talks to us, by the discourse ; who tempts us, by the mischief he tempts to. My good, wicked, pious, hellish friend, and old acquaintance Z——— G——— must never

tell me that he does not know by whose direction he transacts, and who he converses with when he is bid to break oaths and promises under the cover of conscience; when he assaults innocence by clamour, and levies war by slander, against reputation and virtue, on pretence of zeal to truth; blackening characters in pretence of giving the innocent person opportunity to clear himself; I say he must not do this without knowing from whence he derives the extraordinary motion to it, what spirit prompts, and from whose dictates he takes the direction.

When he daubs on purpose to wash, and sullies with intention to clean the faces of his innocent neighbours, he knows as well as I, he is actuated from hell, and agitated *ab inferis*; because he knows that all hypocrisy is from the Devil; and as he knows himself to be a most accomplished cheat, even from the outside of his face to the inside of his soul, he may sing after my lord of Rochester in his sarcasm upon a much honester man,

He said, O Lord, O Lord of Hosts,
I am a ra——l, that thou know'st.

It is a strange hypothesis, that a late visionist in those pieces of secret history attacked me with the other day, viz., that he would undertake to prove from the late reverend and learned (but to himself unintelligible) Jacob Behemen, that a man's soul was capable of comprehending God, futurity, eternity, and all occult and retired things of the utmost importance, but itself; but that, for divers wise reasons, the light of self-knowledge was hid from his eyes, except by immediate revelation; which immediate revelation friend Jacob pretended to have attained, only with this unhappy disaster attending it, viz., that he could never express himself, no, not to his own understanding; so that indeed he under-

stood this only, namely, that he could not understand what he did understand.

Now to leave friend Jacob to his own quibbles, and to his three-and-twenty parentheses, like a nest of boxes one within another, and never to be prolated; it is my opinion, that if mankind will be faithful to themselves, they may always know themselves; that friend — G—— not only always has the Devil in him, but always knows it; as it is certain, that he that wilfully lies and cheats always knows that he lies and cheats, so it is impossible T—— E—— should be a complete rogue, and not know it; he may be, indeed, not able to know how much a rogue he is, till the Devil and he have drawn out the thread to its full length, and tried him effectually, searched him to the bottom, and seen whether he will stop at anything or no; and what the wicked thing can be that is too gross for him. But he cannot be ignorant of himself in the main; he cannot be so blind to his own inside, as not to know that he is an original knave; that he has broken in upon principles, betrayed trust, cheated orphans, abused widows, sold friendship; and a thousand such things, as these already; and that he has nothing for it, but to put as good an outside upon it as he can, to have the face of an honest man upon the heart of a hypocrite, and to be sure to be a cheat to the world, to the end of the chapter.

Indeed, it might not have been improper to have represented those two worthy gentlemen as apparitions, for that they are such is a most improving truth, and what it may be much for the service of the world to have publicly known: but as we are now speaking of apparitions which represent men and things as they really are, it seems first needful to bring their insides to be their outsides, and then the world may know them by their shadows as well

as by their substance ; and for this I doubt we must wait awhile, the issue of an assizes or two ; for certainly, if justice takes place, they may both be heard of at the gallows.

But to bring it home to the present purpose, I insist that no man can be deceived in himself ; he may know whether he is a knave or an honest man, whether he is a substance or an apparition, whether he be a reality or a shadow ; and that Jacob Behe-men advanced only a delusion proper for a knave, pretending that a man might be honest when he believed himself to be a knave, and be a knave when he thought himself honest.

But to return to the affair of the writing found in the chest, and which, according to the notion which some have of these things, the soul of the ancient gentleman above came in apparition to discover ; our question is first, How did he come to know, in his determined state, his state of soul-existence, be that where it would, I say, How did he come to know that the writing was not discovered, and that his grandson was in danger of coming to any injury about it ? How did he know that the lawsuit was commenced, the thing prosecuted so far, and the damage like to be suffered so very much ?

He might know where it was, if not found, because he hid it there, because he laid it up with so much care ; but he could not know what circumstance had been attending the case since that time, what proceedings had been at law, and how things stood with the family ; if he could, then the text quoted before out of Job cannot be true, that *the son riseth and falleth, and the father knoweth it not.*

It is observable, that this apparition which came to doctor Scot did not allege that he could not rest till this matter was discovered ; he seemed con-

cerned that the family would be uneasy, and that they were so, and that there was great danger they might lose the estate ; but did not pretend he could not rest in peace, or, as the other, that he could not go to heaven till it was discovered.

I cannot but wonder a little at the ignorance of the ancients, in that notion of the soul's wandering in the air all the while the body was without a funeral obsequy ; for, according to their doctrine, those souls who had no such funeral pyre prepared for them, must have been wandering in the air to this day, and will be so for ever ; not being able to get admittance either into one place or other.

No wonder the air is said to be so filled with wandering spirits, with demons, and ghosts, as some are of the opinion it is ; for where must all the millions of spirits be gone who have lain without burial, or been cast into the sea, or been overwhelmed with earthquakes and storms, or died by plagues, where the living have not been sufficient to bury the dead ? and the like in many public calamities.

I know the Roman Catholics have a way of performing a service for the dead by thousands ; and, in particular, for the souls of the dead slain in such and such a battle : whether that has any relation to this old pagan notion or not, I will not say. I know popery has pretty much of the pagan in their original, I mean of their worship ; but will saying one service for the dead answer the end, whether they have any burial or no ? and though their bodies are left, as Achilles says of Hector, for greedy or hungry dogs to rend ? This they do not answer, and, I doubt, cannot ; so that, perhaps, all those souls killed in fight are wandering still in the air, and cannot have admittance, no, not to the shades below.

On the other hand, if the poor soldiers believed that if they were killed in fight they were to wander

for ever, and not be prayed out of purgatory, nay, not be admitted into it, few of them but would choose to be hanged, provided they might be admitted to be buried under the gallows, rather than go to the war and die in the bed of honour.

They tell us (who pretend to know) that the corpses of the deceased princes of France, as well kings as princes of the blood, are not buried, but deposited in the abbey of St. Dennis near Paris, till the immediate successor is dead; and that then the predecessor is buried, and the next is deposited; so that there is always one kept above ground.

I do not take upon me to determine the matter, or to say whether it is really so or not: but if so, and it should be as in the case of Patroclus, that those heroes are then to be out of the happy regions, I must say their kings are but little beholden to that custom, and Lewis XIII. had a hard time of it, to have his son hold it seventy years, and keep him all that while even out of purgatory; and how long he has to stay there, who knows? but it is certain he might have been forty or fifty years onward of his way by this time, if he had not been so many years unburied.

But enough of this pagan and popish frippery: our business is to talk to the more rational world; their fate is before them; all men die, and after death, to judgment, nothing can interrupt it; and what their sons do or suffer behind them they know not.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the consequence of this doctrine ; and seeing that apparitions are real, and may be expected upon many occasions, and that we are sure they are not the souls of our departed friends, how are we to act, and how to behave to them, when they come among us, and when they pretend to be such and such, and speak in the first person of those departed friends, as if they were really themselves ?

HAVING thus settled the main point, and determined what apparition is not ; namely, not an angel immediately from heaven, not a returned, unembodied soul ; and having advanced, in essay at least, what we are to suppose them to be, namely, a good or evil spirit from the invisible world ; and having settled the rule of judging whether of the two, whether a good or an evil, according to the apparent good or evil of their design ; it is time now to bring the matter into practice, to settle the grand preliminary, and determine, since this is their behaviour to us, how we are to behave to them.

Nor is this a needless inquiry, for we find the world at a great loss on such occasions. Men are exceedingly terrified and disordered upon the very apprehensions of seeing anything, as they call it, from the invisible world ; even the great king Belshazzar, though in the midst of his whole court, the lords of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, a full assembly of ladies and courtiers, yet when he saw but a piece of an apparition, (for it was but one

hand,) yet *his countenance changed, and the joints of his knees were loosed, and his knees smote one against another*, Dan. v. 6. Charles VIII. of France was not frightened only, but frightened out of his wits, with an apparition, in the forest of Mans, and never recovered his senses any more; and we have several instances in story of men, even of the greatest resolution, who have lost all their courage, and all their resolution, when they have had but a short visit of this kind, though without receiving any injury from them.

But whence is it that the mind is thus surprised? why is our aversion so great to any appearance from the other world, without so much as inquiring into the particulars?

There are many reasons, indeed, to be assigned to prove why it is so, but not one good reason, that I know of, to prove it should be so, or that we have any occasion to be so alarmed and disturbed at these appearances; I mean, when the mind has any degree of composure: it is true, they come from an invisible place, and that is one of the reasons of our fright, because, as we say, we know not whence they are, of what errand they come, with what commission, and with what power to execute that commission; all these uncertainties bring a terror upon the spirits, the soul receives a shock, the man is like one of those poor people where they are in an earthquake, they see the buildings totter and fall before them, and though they are not buried in the ruins, but are, perhaps, escaped out into the fields, yet they feel the earth roll and move under them, and they are doubtful and apprehensive lest they may be swallowed up every moment: and, according to the old poet, it is matter of real terror:

Fear chills the heart: what heart can fear dissemble,
When steeples stagger, and when mountains tremble?

This uncertainty of the mind in the case of apparitions is the real ground of fear, viz., that we know not,

Whence their errand comes ;
What commission they have ;
What power to execute the commission.

First ; we don't know whence they are, and from whom their errand ; nor, indeed, can we be easy in the uncertainty : the reason is, there is a secret doubt of the mind, founded upon guilt. Here the atheist balks his assurance, and, though he pretends to believe neither God nor devil, staggers at a messenger that comes, for aught he knows, from one or both of them, to convince him by immediate demonstration ; here his heart fails him, he turns pale, starts at the sight, and would be glad to be assured there were really both, that one might protect him from the other.

While he knows not whether the message comes from heaven or hell, whether the messenger may be angel or devil, the uncertainty, attended with the real danger of the worst, leaves him in horror, and he fears Hell, because he knows he has provoked Heaven ; he fears the Devil, because he knows he that can command the Devil is his enemy.

In a word, a sense of God makes men afraid of the Devil ; as they say, fear of the Devil gives a sense of homage to God.

Secondly ; we tremble at the messenger, because we don't know what his message may be ; we dread the officer, because we dread his commission, we are afraid of what he has to say, we know we have no reason to expect good news from the place which we suppose he comes from, and therefore we turn pale at his coming, nor is it possible to be otherwise.

There are but two principles that fortify the mind

against the fears of a future state, no, not that seemingly fortify it, and these are :

1. Innocence, or a good heart, founded in religion, virtue, and an exact rectitude of behaviour.
Or,

2. Impudence, a hardened shutting the eyes against conviction, and the ears against conscience.

It is with some perplexity that I found myself obliged to give a character, in another place, of a famed man of pretended brightness and wit ; he was always merry, a constant smile sat upon his countenance, a perfect easiness possessed his mind, he knew not a moment of melancholy or chagrin ; he never sighed, because he seldom prayed or grieved, I wish I could have said, because he never sinned ; his heart was light as his head ; and as for his heels, he always walked in minuet and rigadoons ; his mirth was as uninterrupted as his breath, and he laughed by the consequence of respiration ; his voice was a natural music, and his rhetoric was all sonnet and solfa's.

Sure, said I, my cousin M—— ——— must have the clearest conscience in the universe, he has not the least scar upon his inside, and, if he was to see the Devil, he could not change colour, or have the least hesitation at the most frightful appearance : he must be all innocence and virtue :—

Did the least spot upon his soul appear !

It could not be : his conscience must be clear :

For where there's guilt there always would be fear.

But I mistook my kinsman most extremely ; for, on the contrary, his soul is blacker than negro Sancho, the beauty of Africa ; he boasts himself of the most hardened crime, defies Heaven, despises terror, and is got above fear, by the mere force of a flagrant assurance.

He would no more value seeing the Devil, in his

most fiery, formidable appearance, than he would to see a storm of fire in the Tempest, or a harlequin *diable* in Fresco; if you will take his character from himself, he has no more fear about him than he has conscience, and that's so little, 'tis not worth naming; he knows no sorrow, no chagrin; he was born laughing, and intends to die jesting: and what is all this founded upon? not glorious innocence, mentioned above, but notorious impudence.

It is true, indeed, I had not cared to speak so grossly of one of my near relations, but he will have it so, he speaks it of himself, bids me take notice of it, that it is the character he gives me of himself, and d—s me with a full stream of Billingsgate if I dare to give any other character of him than what he gives of himself.

I must acknowledge, I did believe the Devil and my cousin were not much at strife, that he did not fear the old dragon, because he had never done anything to disoblige him; but, it seems, the case differs, and he defies the Devil purely upon the same foot that he defies him that made the Devil, and acts the fury merely as a fury, not as a man of sense, or as a man of courage.

All that I have to say to this, is, that this will last just till the rage is abated, and no longer; till the blood cools, and the spirits return to their natural course, and then the wretch will be as cold as now he is hot, as calm as now he is outrageous, and as base and low-spirited as now he is fiery and furious.

All the hot-headed courage of these men is only a flash, a meteor in the air; when they are cooled, when the exhalation is spent, they are as phlegmatic as other people; and then they look pale, the countenance changes, and the knees knock one against another, as well as other people's.

There's no scorning the terrors of a messenger from the other world, but by a settled, established

composure of the soul, founded on the basis of peace within, peace of conscience, peace and innocence, or peace and penitence, which is, in effect, all one: this is the only face that a man can hold up to the Devil; with a clean heart he may boldly see the Devil, talk to him, despise him, and tell him he scorns him, for that he has nothing at all to do with him.

But this is not our present condition; few people wear this armour in our days; they neither value it, or know the use of it, and therefore it is that we are so full of terror and disturbance when we see the Devil, at least if we think he has anything to say to us.

But now for the great question, Why it should be so? As I said, it is truth too evident that it is so, but to say that it should be so, that requires another kind of sophistry to make out.

It is true, it requires a great deal of courage, and of cool courage too, in bearing up the soul against the surprise of such things as these; a man must be able to talk to the Devil in a dialect which he, Satan, himself does not very well understand, to bid him begone, to bid him *Get thee behind me*, and the like; it is an authoritative way of talking that every one cannot support; and if the Devil is sensible of it, he will not fail to exert himself to the utmost, to maintain the right which he seems to enjoy, and keep the hold he has gotten; for he knows how ill his cause is to be defended by justice and reason, and if he should answer as he did to the sons of Scæva the Jew, what then if you should say to him, in the vulgar and ignorant dialect of speaking to spirits, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Who art thou? or, I charge thee in the name of the Father, &c., to be gone, and disturb me no more.

I say, if the Devil should answer, The Father I

know, and the Son I know, and the Holy Ghost I know, but who are you, you that pretend to use their names thus? What would you say for yourself?

Now that we may know how to answer the Devil as well as how to speak to him, (for both are very necessary,) let me enter into the state of the case a little, between the Devil and us; nay, between all the inhabitants of the invisible world, and their friends in this, let them be who or of what kind they will.

First, In order to be free from the surprise of these things, you must endeavour to establish your mind in the right understanding of the thing called apparition; that you may reason yourself into a sufficient firmness and steadiness of soul against all the whimsical and imaginary part of it.

Let us think of things as they are, not as they are only imagined, and supposed to be; for it is the reality of the thing, not the shadow, that can fright and disorder us, that is to say, that can have any just reason to do so.

For want of this we are often scared and terrified with dreams and visions, even when we are awake, and when really there is no such thing in substance or reality as any vision or apparition, other than apprehension throws in upon us, and other than our bewitched imagination represents to us.

It is absolutely necessary, if you would not be always looking over your shoulders, and always forming spectres to your fancy: I say, it is necessary to have a right notion of apparition in general; to know what it is, and what it must be, whence it comes, and what the utmost of its commission can be; that you may think yourself into a true and clear understanding of it, and then your fears about it will be regulated after another manner. For example:

1. Establish your mind in this particular and fundamental article, that whatever appears, it must be either a good spirit from the invisible world, an agent of mercy, a messenger of peace, and consequently will do you no hurt : or,

2. An evil spirit, an agent of hell from Satan's region and empire, the air ; and that so, whatever evil design or evil message he pretends to come about, and however mischievous his intention is, he cannot do the hurt he desires, because that as the good spirits are under direction, so the bad are under limitation ; the one will not, and the other cannot hurt you, without an immediate command from above. The fear therefore which we have upon us concerning apparition, is not or ought not to be guided by their appearance, but by the rectitude of our own thoughts ; and as we are or are not quiet and calm within, so we shall or shall not be under apprehensions from without.

Fortify your minds then with a steady confidence in the Supreme maker and governor of all things, who has the great red dragon in a chain ; and when you think you see the Devil, fear nothing, for he will never let loose the destroyer upon any one whose mind is steadily fixed upon himself.

This is a critical, and perhaps a too curious piece of practice for me to meddle with, especially here, and must be but gently touched at ; you will, it may be, object too against the doctrine of it, and say, Who can so effectually trust in God, as not to be at all afraid of the Devil ? Now, though this may seem true upon many accounts, and, as times go with us, may be really a just objection, yet, if we will believe history or experience, it is not so much a difficulty as to say, Who can do it ? for it has been done.

I remember the known and famous story of a maid under a real and personal possession of the

Devil, at Little Gadsden in Hertfordshire, though by an unhappy disappointment I was not present, not knowing of the thing time enough; yet I saw and conversed with several that were present and heard the Devil speak in the maid, and by the organ of her voice, though without any apparent motion of her tongue or lips, or any part of her mouth.

Of this person it was positively true, that there was a certain good man, though a lay Christian, who so frequently prayed with the poor demoniac, being a neighbour of her father's, and so constantly talked to the Devil, and battered him with Scripture, that he was, as I might say, the Devil's terror, and he would not let the girl go to any house or into any room where this man (whose name was Monks) was; and if she was directed to any place, he would stop her, as if he was to go and see first if Mr. Monks was there or not, and then he would bid her go, for Monks was not there.

Now, as I am well assured of the truth both of the girl's being possessed, really actuated by a devil in her, and of this devil being afraid of Mr. Monks; then the question above is so far directly answered, that it is possible to arrive to such a state, as not only not to be afraid of the Devil, but even to make the Devil afraid of us. I confess it would be a state of felicity that would make life very easy to us upon many accounts; and I could enlarge very pleasantly, to myself, upon that subject. But as things go with the world, I question much whether it would be so pleasant to those I am writing to, and therefore I leave it: and so if I have been preaching a little, it is so little in length, and, I hope, so much to the purpose, that you may forgive me for once, especially upon promise of saying as little for your good for the time to come, as I can.

There is indeed a right worthy and commendable

state of indifference, not only as to who shall or shall not visit us from the invisible world, and from what part of it they come, but also as to what station we are to have among them hereafter ; and this happy temper is much recommended to me by some of my fashionable friends, as a most desirable condition of life ; to be perfectly easy, void of anxiety and perplexities of any kind, and forming the most perfect composure of soul that can be imagined.

They describe this the most accurately indeed by the practice, for they say most feelingly, that no tongue can express the felicity of it ; which indeed I believe is very true ; they are perfectly easy about, because thoughtless of, that dull remote thing called futurity. As for there being a state of life, or a something like life, after death, they cannot say but it may be so, for they never inquired much into the principles of the Sadducees, or into any other principles about it. But what that state is to be, or what we are to be, or not to be, in it, they never trouble themselves about it ; they look upon it as a thing remote, which people are not agreed about, and they believe never will, till they come there ; and to be beating their heads and perplexing their thoughts about what, when they have done all, they are sure they shall never arrive to a certainty about, they do not see it is to the purpose at all.

This is certainly a mighty brief way with their doubts, and a short answer to all inquiries ; and I must own it is putting a short end to all disputes with themselves, about the thing called a future state.

But there remains a question still unanswered, and which is a question of moment with me, whatever it may be with them, viz., Where is the felicity of this kind of calm ?

O, says a deist of my acquaintance, peace of mind is a felicity, I hope.

Yes, said I, if it be built upon a right foundation.

Nay, says he, peace is peace; don't tell me of foundations.

Hold, friend, said I, even Molinos himself, the author of the Quietism, which one author well calls Sotism, and of the sect of the Quietists, and who resolved all felicity and all religion into the calm of a retired soul, yet fixed that calm upon the meditations of an upright mind, and the calm of a clear heart.

I value none of your sects, says my friend. Gallio was a true politician and a happy man, Acts xviii. 17. *He cared for none of these things*; and there was his happiness.

So a madman, says I, is happy in his lunacy, and enjoys a thoughtless calm, all the while he is in the greatest hurry and disorder of his soul. I say, there's no calm in distraction.

Well, but I am calm, says he, and yet I am not distracted.

I don't know that, said I, I doubt the fact.

Well, if I am mad, I don't know it, says he; and, as I said before, that's a happiness to me.

A happiness in misery, said I; and such is all the peace that such a temper can give.

But why is it not a sufficient felicity, says he, to be calm and quiet?

Because, said I, a mind insensible and unmoved in dangers of the greatest importance, is not consistent with the condition itself, or with prudence and reason, under that condition.

How is it not consistent? says my friend.

Why, for example; suppose, says I, a man in the upper rooms of a house, when all the lower part was on fire; the staircase and all retreats cut off,

except throwing himself out of the window ; if this man sat smoking his pipe, or singing a song, or reading a play, would not you say he was demented and mad ?

But how are the cases parallel ? says he.

Exactly, said I, they agree in every part but this ; that he is certain the fire is under him, and you don't know but it may be so, and don't think it worth while to inquire : and to make it chime in that part too, you may suppose the man ignorant too, only that people call to him, and tell him the house is on fire, and he does not so much as rise off his seat to go to the stair-head and see whether it be so or no ; though he hears them, and tells them he hears them, he bids them not trouble their heads about him, it is time enough when he feels it ; and the next moment the floor falls under him, and soon after the roof falls in over him, and so he is burnt to death.

What do you infer from this ? says he.

I inquire, said I, whether that indolence and unconcernedness be consistent with common sense, and if a wise man would do so ?

Suppose I grant it ? said he.

So, says I, you must grant that an indifference about what shall be our share of that state which is beyond us, whether the bright or the dark, is inconsistent with common sense, and that no wise man can act so.

Here my friend and I ended, for instead of being touched with it, he talked profanely, and then I always think it is time to leave off talking at all ; for when men give up their reason to atheism, and their sense of God to blasphemy, who shall labour to wash that Ethiop ?

It is the same in the case before me ; here is an apparition, or suppose it the man that sees it is utterly unconcerned about it ; he cares not one

farthing whether it comes from above or from below, whether it be an angel or a devil, a messenger from hell or from heaven; and so this man is not afraid of it, but boldly goes up to it, and like a soldier cries, Who are you for? Whence come you? What have you to say to me? And, it may be, gives it for answer, Very well, go about your business then, I have nothing to say to you. And this sort of courage, as he calls it, this unconcerned bravery, he recommends as the best way to deal with these spirits.

But suppose the Devil won't be put off so, but says, I'll come and visit you to-morrow in another dress, I'll try your courage; and at last masters this sort of indolent unconcerned easiness, and the man falls into terror and amazement; what has he at the bottom to preserve him from the Devil then? truly nothing; but he is like Cashio Burroughs, all trembling, and cries out, O God! here she comes! and is frightened even to death. Certainly a cold indifference about it whether it be an angel or the Devil, and above all, whether its message be from heaven or hell, will not hold it out against the terror that may come along with it from without, or the reflections of guilt that may be raised by it from within, so that some better-grounded courage, a calm begun from a better principle, must be inquired after; or else, as I said to my deistical friend, when you do really see the Devil, you will not be so easy as you promise yourself to be. But this is too serious for you, I must go on.

I come next to the inquiry, what is our business, and how should we behave, if it is our misfortune to have any such appearance come to us? And suppose our minds to be as much composed as ordinarily may be expected, not more than our neighbours; but what, I say, shall we do, and what is the best course for us to take?

In my opinion, and it is the next advice I would give, I say, next to that of fortifying the mind with religious considerations, of which I have spoken, and which should always go first, speak to it.

By speaking to it, my meaning is, speak though it does not speak to you. I have heard of some apparitions, who it is said had no power to speak till they were first spoken to, and some cases of that kind are published by those who I suppose believed them, though I see no reason to do so; and particularly of an apparition that caused a poor man to follow it over hedge and ditch all night for many a night together, till the poor man was almost hurried to death; but could not speak to him, and the frightened wretch was afraid to speak to it; but at last the man spoke, and then the apparition's mouth was loosed too: all which, I must confess, I see no manner of reason to believe, and therefore cannot recommend it to anybody else to believe.

There seems no consistency in the nature of the thing, no foundation for it in religion, or anything in it that we can reason upon for our own understanding; and where neither nature, religion, or reason allow us any light in it, upon what principle can we go to make our judgment?

But leaving it, therefore, where we find it, I say, if you see an apparition, that is, such an apparition as we have been speaking of, not a phantasm of your own brain, not an imaginary apparition, the effect of fright, or dream, or mere whimsey, not a hypochondriac apparition, the effect of vapours and hysteric shadows, when the eye sees double, and imagination makes itself a telescope to the soul, not to show realities, but to magnify objects at the remotest distance, and show things as in being which are not: if you see such an apparition as this, and speak to it, it is no wonder you receive no answer, and so go

away more frightened with a silent, dumb devil, than you would be with a speaking one: but, I say, if the vision be real, if it be a shape and appearance in form, as has been described, never shun it and fly from it, but speak to it.

If you would ask me what you should say to it, it is an unfair question, in some respects, it is not possible for any one to dictate, without the proper circumstances be described. The old way, you all know, *In the name of*, &c., as above, is the common road: I will not cry down the custom, because it is the usual way, and the words are good; but I believe a sincere mental ejaculatory prayer to the blessed Being of beings for his superior presence, would be as effectual as presenting the words to the Devil as a kind of exorcism; such a petition sent up, and then a plain What are you? I think, is compliment enough for the Devil.

An honest, plain, religious Scotchman, whom I knew, and who thought he saw the Devil, though he was mistaken too, yet had this (to me) perfectly new expression upon the surprise, 'The Lord be between me and thee, Satan awa'; that is, go away, or get thee away: it was certainly a good thought, and the poor man was right, for if the Lord was between him and the Devil there was no great need to fear him or any of his.

But, to waive particular instructions in the case, the occasion will certainly administer the substance of what you should say; the present direction is only in general, Speak to it, never sink under the terror or surprise of the sight; the Devil is rarely seen in his own shape, and ordinarily, for ends of his own, he chooses to appear in familiar shapes, personating some or other that we know, or have known, and representing to our fancy something that will not terrify us; nay, it is the opinion of the learned divines that the Devil would do much less

harm, and be far less dangerous, if he appeared as a mere devil, with his horns, his cloven hoof, and his serpent's tail, and dragon's wings, as fancy figures him out, and as our painters dress him up, than he does in his disguises, and the many shapes and figures he assumes to himself.

So fatal are masks and disguises, habits and dresses, to the world, and such advantage does a false countenance give to criminal performances of many kinds, that even the Devil is more dangerous dressed up in masquerade, than in his own clothes, and in his own colours ; if he will come in all his formalities and frightfuls, he would not be capable of half so many cozenings and cheatings as he now puts upon us : now you have him here and have him there ; you have him everywhere, and nowhere ; he is here a tempter to wickedness, there a preacher of righteousness ; to-day in one disguise, to-morrow in another ; you know him, and you don't know him, see him, and don't see him : and how then can any one tell you what to say to him, or how to talk with him ?

However, to come as near it as we can, the first and ordinary question natural to the occasion, is, to know who he is, and whence he comes, what message he has to deliver, what business he comes about, and what you have to do with it, why he disturbs you in particular, and the like ; and, if you may obtain so much civility from him, to desire him to trouble you no more, especially if you find the apparition to be of the worst kind.

If it is, apparently, a good spirit, I think the conduct should differ, as the message he comes about will certainly differ : if it warns you to repent of such and such a scandalous life, or if it bids you reform such and such a criminal practice, which you know yourself guilty of, accept the kind admonition, submit to the reproof, and promise obedience ; you

may depend, as I have often said, the Devil comes of no such errand.

If it tells you such and such dangers attend you, take the kind hint, and use the proper means to avoid them, thankfully acknowledging the goodness of the hand that sent the notice, as well as the messenger that brought it; for, depend upon it, the Devil, who is a lover and author, as well as the promoter, of mischief, takes no pains to prevent it, but would rather have a hand in bringing it upon you.

And if such things as these are the subject of the message, what can you say why you should be afraid of the messenger? It is hard to rejoice in the message, and be scared at the messenger: the truth is, we are not much accustomed to such solemn admonitions, such good and beneficent cautions and assistances, and this makes the thing strange and awful, and be received with terror and fright, and, perhaps, if it were not so, we should receive them oftener.

We do not find the old patriarchs, or, after them, the children of Israel, were so frightened at the apparition of angels and spirits: it is true, indeed, when the angel appeared to Gideon at the threshing-floor, it is said, he was troubled at his presence, nevertheless the message was kind and encouraging; yet we find he recovered himself, and took courage to talk very particularly with it, and to expostulate with him about the circumstances of his country and of the people, and even to ask a double sign from the angel, to confirm his faith. And how went he on? He obeyed the voice of the vision, notwithstanding all his fears and doubts, and he bowed his soul, and followed the directions given him.

There are abundance of reasons why we should listen to such apparitions as these; their distinguishing character is, that they always come of some

errand or other for the good of mankind, take it either in general or in particular ; sometimes, it is alleged, they come upon trifling and mean occasions, as is the case in many instances given in story and in print. But it may be answered with an inquiry, Are we sure these are not trifling stories, and brought in by persons, perhaps, but half informed? But what are we to think of the apparition to king James V. in Scotland, who warned him against his Flodden-field expedition? which, if he had listened to, he had saved his life, and the lives of ten thousand of his people : for less, it is said, did not fall in the whole undertaking.

And what shall we say of the warning given to the duke of Buckingham, by the apparition of his own father, which if he had listened to, it is very likely he had escaped the fatal knife? for Felton, who assassinated him, did it, as it seems he declared at the gibbet, upon the account of the popular hatred ; and that he thought him a public enemy to his country.

These, and many more which I have mentioned, or which I have not mentioned, have been the subject of such messengers, and were far from trifling. If an apparition gives any of us notice of our approaching end, and bids us prepare for it, is not the message solemn, and the occasion of it weighty? and is not the notice worth our regard? is the preparation for death a trifling thing? and the assurance how near the time is, cannot but be a valuable notice ; I am sure it ought to be esteemed so.

A flouting atheistic man of wit, who must be nameless, because he will not bear to be named to the crimes which he is not ashamed to commit, told me, when discoursing this part of the subject, that it was no kindness at all, for that men ought always to be prepared for death ; and yet could not deny

but that it was a remote affair, which he had not yet given himself the trouble to think about.

I cannot believe but that if some people, who now value themselves upon their bright thoughts and their being above the power of chagrin, or of any melancholy reflections to disturb their joy, were told (nay, though it was by a kind apparition) that they were to die, one in a fortnight, one in three days; one at one time, and one at another, and all within a short time, they would have a little alteration upon their outsides. G ——— M ——— who laughs ever more, is continually tittering and prompting others to the lowest-prized part of mirth, who is all levity and froth, and owns that one sigh never yet reached his heart; should a solemn apparition come to him and his merry friend, the very duplicate of himself, and say, repent G ———, and prepare for death, for you have but three months to live, and you ———, pointing to his fellow-mimic, but five days; I say, should such a message be seriously delivered him in such an awful manner, as many relations tell us have been done to others, I cannot have so little charity for the beau, but to think he would change colour a little, and begin to consider, and especially if at the five days' end he had news that his other self, the image of his extraordinary soul, the very *sosia* to himself in life, though not in figure, was found dead in his bed to a tittle of the time.

I say, I cannot doubt but that he would learn to sigh a little; and my charity is the more extensive in Mr. M ———'s case, because, take him a little off of his ordinary titillations, and unhinge him from the light article which has gained so entirely upon him as to eclipse him, the man has yet some brains, and they might perhaps assist a little upon such an occasion, to condense the vapour, and bring the solid

part uppermost, which at present has not happened to him.

And not to single out a gay humour or two from the rest, how many among our box and pit heroes, were they told they were under the sentence of death, and only reprieved for so many, and so many days; I say, how many of them would shine at the next opera! how would their countenances change, and their knees knock one against another! how would they sit down in tears and repentance, or sink into the death foretold, even by the mere horror of its approach! for there is the most dread where there is the least repentance! Nor let any one cavil at the expression, a sentence and a reprieve, let them take it as they will; the thing is no less, and can be understood no otherwise of us all: we are all under the sentence, as directly as a criminal that hears it read at the bar, with only this significant difference, namely, that we are reprieved *sine die*, the criminal is not, and the consequence of this may be the worse; for we promise ourselves it shall be longer than we have reason to believe it is, and so are often executed in surprise, our preparations being delayed by presumption; whereas the offender knows he must die at the expiration of his reprieve, and perhaps is assured that it is in vain to expect any further delay.

Now a kind messenger comes, as the prophet did to Hezekiah, and says, prepare yourself for you shall die, and not live; is this message to be slighted and disregarded? If it is so treated, it is at your peril; you take that part upon yourself, and if you find this the case, you will hardly call the message trifling, much less say such apparition generally come upon trifling occasions.

History records a great many foreboding signs, and some by apparition, foretelling the destruction of Jerusalem, and of the temple; not that any of

those signs could be supposed to give warning of it, so as that it might be prevented; for our Saviour had expressly said it should be destroyed; *Their house should be left unto them desolate*, Matth. xxiii. 38. *Not one stone left upon another which shall not be thrown down*, Matth. xxiv. 2. But those signs and apparitions were apparent warnings to the people, at least to such of them as had the wisdom to take notice of them, to make their escape out of the city before the Romans invested it, and before it was too late; particularly the opening the great brazen doors of the temple, which Josephus says twenty men could scarce turn to open or shut, and which opening of themselves, an apparition was seen in the house of God, and a voice heard, saying, *Let us depart hence*.

No question, but as the warning or alarm was given to direct many to their escape, so many had that wisdom given them as to make their escape; and though the desolation was horrible, and such as perhaps was never equalled, except in the same place and the same country by the Assyrians, when the first temple was burnt; yet, as they say it is a hard battle where none escape, so Josephus himself owns, that many thousands, and others say many hundreds of thousands, fled in time, and made their escape, flying, as the text says, *from the wrath to come*. Nor can I doubt but that many had warnings in dreams, that is, as I say, by apparitions in dream, by visions, and some by open apparitions, that the city would be destroyed.

Rabbi Judah says, the patriarchs appeared to many, and gave them notice that the Romans would come and besiege their city, and that the temple should be destroyed; but I doubt much of the story, and that on a double account; 1st, Whether ever any of the patriarchs did so appear and forewarn them; for had they done so, they would certainly have told

them that the Messiah was come, and that therefore the second temple was to be destroyed, for that all the prophecies were fulfilled. But, 2ndly, I doubt also that Rabbi Judah, if such an author there was, never said so, and that it is only a tradition.

It is certain there were the like omens, and, I doubt not, apparitions too, just before the taking and sacking of Rome by the barbarians, the Vandals and Goths; and we might descend to modern history for many of the like: so that these apparitions do not always come upon trifling occasions, at least they are not trifling to those whom they regard in particular, and therefore it is not an objection for a particular person to make.

I have troubled you with none of those apparitions which have come to help you to find out money, to reveal little love-secrets and intrigues, and upon other such cases; nor do I recommend it to you to believe those trifles; they are, most certainly, the apparitions of fancy, as I shall observe at large in its place; such people make a mere harlequin of the Devil, a common jack-pudding, to make game with: it is most certain, the spirits I speak of, know how to make themselves be better regarded, know how to make themselves considerable, can come clothed in terror, if they please, and have done so where occasion has called for it, either to enforce their message, or alarm such persons who set up for a hardened face beyond the power of invisible terrors.

But as their message is generally peaceable, and the intent of it kind and good, so they choose to come in a manner as little attended with the frightful part as they can.

But, not to dwell on this part, or inquire at all what the message is they come about, whether trifling or otherwise, the present inquiry is, what is our part, what is to be done when they do appear:

for, till we see them, we know nothing of their business, nor, perhaps, when we see them, unless we speak to them ; and we have many stories of apparitions that only show themselves, and perhaps, it may be, never speak at all.

This our people call walking, and, indeed, it is not improperly called so, because, as to us, we know no more of their business ; but it no more follows that they have no other business here, because we do not know it, than that it is likely they should come hither, and walk to and from, and have nothing to do.

As for those non-appearing apparitions, if I may call them so, (for not to appear, and not to let us know what they appear for, seems to be much the same,) I mean those not-speaking apparitions, we can, indeed, give no account of them, because we cannot converse with them ; it seems to me they are not of the heavenly or angelic kind, because they would certainly have some more apparent business, and, perhaps, not be backward to speak of it, at least they would not seem to be ashamed of their errand.

Nor is it my opinion that those apparitions who come of good errands can be supposed to be unable to speak, if it was necessary to their business to use speech, much less that they should receive their commission or their ability to speak from our first speaking to them ; there is no coherence in it. But, certainly, if the spirits that appear upon good designs, and come upon good errands, do not speak to us, they are not sent to us ; their business is with somebody else, which we know nothing of, though we may see the spectre ; for it may be that a man may see an apparition that has nothing to do with him, or to say to him.

Or perhaps the spectre may execute its commission effectually, without speaking. A ghost was said to

haunt a certain house in the country, not far from Reigate, in Surry; it was met in the garden by one of the family, who had long valued himself upon believing, and saying also, that there were no such things as apparitions, and that he would be sure of it, whenever he met such a thing, he would know what it was made of before he parted with it.

Going out of the house in the evening, when it was almost dark, but not quite, he meets the apparition in the garden; the apparition shunned him, and would not have been seen, or made as if it would not have been seen. Ha! says he, boldly, are you there? what are you? The apparition still makes from him, and he speaks again: Who are you? what's your name? says he, in a kind of jesting manner. My business is not with you, says the apparition. But I have some business with you, says he, I must know what you are, and I will know what you are; and with that says my story, (though, by the way, I must tell you I don't know how true it is,) I say, with that the bold fellow offers to go up to it, and lay hands upon it; at which it advanced to him, and overrun him, bore him down, and threw him against the garden wall, which was at least five or six yards from him, with such violence that he was taken up for dead; and, I suppose, he never ventured to lay hands upon a spirit or apparition again.

Now, be this story true or not, I mention it to warn rash heads, who, pretending not to fear the Devil, are for using the ordinary violences with him, which affect one man from another, or with an apparition, in which they may be sure to receive some mischief. I knew one fired a gun at an apparition, and the gun burst in a hundred pieces in his hand, that is, in a great many pieces. Another struck at an apparition with a sword, and broke his sword in pieces, and wounded his hand grievously. It is

most certain that an apparition or a spirit is not to be cut with a sword, or shot with a gun ; as there is no substance, there can be no wound made ; and it is next to madness for any one to go that way to work, be it angel or be it Devil.

But to carry this further : in particular, an apparition may show itself, and perform its mission in a full and complete manner, and yet not speak. I have a story by me of a gentleman who carried on a secret and criminal conversation with a certain lady, and having made an assignation to meet the lady, was met at the place by an apparition of his own mother ; she said nothing, she did not offer to speak, nor did he at first know it to be an apparition. The gentleman walks about in the field near a house where he had appointed the lady to meet ; the apparition walked about likewise, and he takes it to be a woman in ordinary, as any woman might be seen to walk up and down in the same field or walk.

By and by the woman or lady appointed comes, he meets her, and goes forward to salute her ; the apparition shows itself just behind the lady, and looks him full in the face ; he starts back from the lady, and instead of kissing her, cries out, and asks her, who's that behind her ? she turns about, but sees nobody, nor he neither ; which frights them both.

He fancies it to be an imaginary vapour, having no faith at all in apparitions, and offers to go up to the lady again ; and behold, he sees the apparition just behind her again, the face standing just so as to look over the lady's shoulder, and stare just upon him ; he cries out again, and knows it to be his mother, who, it seems, was dead ; and in crying out again, he adds, My mother ! at which it vanishes.

Had this apparition any occasion to speak ? was it not rebuke enough to look him in the face ?

Even in common affairs a look from the eye of one who has authority to reprove, is sometimes more effectual than the reproof, if it was given in words at length.

Suppose this spectre to regard him not with a threatening aspect, but with a countenance of pity, of a maternal reprehension, a reproof urging shame and reproach, like that of Solomon, *What, my son ! what, the son of my vows ; my son be seen embracing a strumpet !* The man went away, says my story, filled with confusion ; as no question indeed but he would.

Here was no need of speech ; the look was a lash, and a reproof sufficient ; the man would hardly meet there any more, if he would meet the same lady any more, and it is very likely he never did.

It is very unhappy in the case before me, that it is impossible to attest the truth of all the stories which are handed about upon such a subject as this is ; and therefore though I might make flourishes of the truth of the particulars in all cases, as others do, I choose rather to insist upon the moral of every story, whatever the fact may be, and to enforce the inference, supposing the history to be real, or whether it be really so or not, which is not much material.

All these cases, however, return me back to the advice above, namely, always if you see an apparition, speak to it, speak to it early, and answer any questions it asks, but be sure to ask it no questions except such as are reasonable, and may be supposed to be within the reach of its immediate capacity to answer ; no questions tending to reveal the mysteries of a future state. To ask such questions as are a plain diving into the secrets of heaven, which it is already declared shall not be laid open, is asking the good spirit, if it be such, to offend on his part, and

is really criminal on your part ; as to ask what condition the person is in, meaning the person whose shape the apparition takes up ; how he gets leave to appear here ; why he comes in this or that manner ; what kind of place heaven is, and such like ; as the bishop of Down and Connor ordered James Haddock to ask.

But suit your questions to what the spectre shall say, or as the manner of its appearance shall direct you ; as particularly, if it requires you to do anything, to speak to any person, or to deliver any admonition to a third person, as in the case of the apparition about the duke of Buckingham, and as in the case of Dr. Scot and others, you may justly ask tokens by which you may make yourself be believed ; also such questions as relate to yourself, and to the nature of the thing which the apparition comes about.

But questions relating to things beyond time, curious inquiries into futurity and eternity, are upon many accounts to be avoided : and for some reasons which I care not to mention in particular, because I would not form frightful ideas in the minds of those that read. I have some stories by me which give an account that upon such needless inquiries the apparition has turned itself into terrifying appearances, intimating resentment ; not only a resentment on its own account, but as if it was an offence and a high provocation to the Supreme power to offer to search into what Heaven has concealed : to me, indeed, it seems it would be so, and therefore it is certainly best to refrain those inquiries.

In a word, the apparition is, as I may say, aggressor ; it appears ; you are passive ; be so still, otherwise you make yourself the apparition, and put the apparition in your place : ask it wherefore it appears to you, whether for good or evil ; if for

evil, call upon God for protection ; if it comes for good, declare yourself ready to receive its message, and to observe every just direction, to obey every righteous command, and attend to what it shall say.

This is to act fearless, and yet cautious ; bold, and yet wisely ; resolved, and yet humble ; and in this temper of mind, I think no man need to be afraid of an apparition.

You may resolve all such things into this ; whether they are good spirits or bad, angelic appearances or diabolic, they are under superior limitations : the Devil we know is chained, he can go no further than the length of his tether ; he has not a hand to act, or a foot to walk, or a mouth to speak, but as he is permitted. The case of his commission to Job is explicit ; such and such things he might do, such he might not ; even the lives of Job's children, and cattle, and servants, were given him ; and like a devil as he was, he went to the full extent of his commission ; he spared not one of them that he could destroy, but he was forbid to touch the life of Job, and he did not, he durst not, he could not kill him.

If then we are sure the Devil is restrained from hurting us, any otherwise than he is directed and limited, we may be sure that good spirits are ; for their nature, their business, their desires are all fixed in a general beneficence to mankind ; their powers and employments, as far as they are concerned among us, and in things upon this surface, are included in the heavenly acclamation when the angel sung to the shepherds, *On earth peace, goodwill towards men*, Luke ii. 14.

If at any time they are messengers of judgment, executors of the Divine vengeance, it is likewise by special, nay, by extraordinary commission ; and then they are indeed flames of fire, and punctually do what they are commanded, and no more.

But even then, that we may be easy in the matter of apparition, they do not disguise themselves or conceal their commission: as Manoah's wife said to him when the angel appeared to her: *If the Lord were pleased to kill us, he would not have received a burnt-offering and a meat-offering at our hands; neither would he have shewed us all these things*, Judges xiii. 23. So here, the apparition of a good spirit would not betray us, would not act by stratagem with us, would not appear in peace when he means war; come like a friend when he was sent for an enemy; give good counsel, when he meant death and destruction: but if it appears in peace, its design and its message is certainly peace.

Upon the whole, you have no way any occasion to be disturbed at an appearance, but to regard the power sending, not the agent sent; looking beyond the apparition itself, and with a resolved mind, and a steady calm courage, speak to it, and demand its business; I do not mean by demand, a demand of insult and arrogance, but an humble, yet resolved inquiry, why, and on what occasion it comes to you?

I have done counselling. If this part is too grave for you, as I said before, it is not very tedious; you may make it a parenthesis, and the work will read without it; for why should I desire you to do any good thing against your will?

If you don't think there is anything in it all, if it is not worth your notice, go on without it; and when you see anything, be not surprised and confused, covered with horror and fright, as is usually the case of those who laugh loudest at such things before they come. W—— G——, esq., famous for that particular virtue called impudence, and for that more than ordinary perfection of it, which some people call blasphemy; how merry did

he use to make himself about the ordinary notions of seeing apparitions, and hearing people talk of spirits and the Devil.

How witty would he be upon the poor ladies, when they seemed a little disordered at frightful stories of people's walking, and of the Devil's appearing in horrible shapes, and such-like things, as the old women perhaps had weakly enough filled their heads with! Nothing pleased the young hero like making a jest of those things; and the truth was, that many of them deserved it: but the jest of all jests was, to see the esquire come home frightened out of more wits than any one ever thought him master of, when riding home in the dark one night, he met, that is, his fancy met, the Devil in some monstrous shape or other; but such as his terrors could not leave him room to describe, only by two great saucer eyes glaring in the dark, and by puffing and blowing most frightfully. (It seems the Devil had been upon such hasty business, and was out of breath.)

In this terror he is become such a convert to the doctrine of the reality of apparitions, that he dares not be a moment in the dark, dares not lie alone, or go up stairs by himself: when upon full examination, the Devil he met was only a hunted bullock that some butchers had made half mad, and had pursued till they lost him in the night, and he passed the esquire in the dark, and was found the next morning half dead, near the place where his worship was scared with him. Yet the fright has got such possession of his soul, that all the laughing at him, and all the fools and children's mocking him in the very streets, cannot beat that fit of trembling out of his joints, nor fortify his soul against the vision but of a cat, if it be in the dark.

So eminently silly does that needless passion fear bring us to be, when it has once gotten possession

of the mind ; how foolish, how inconsistent, are the operations of it ! Hence really the saying, to be frightened out of our wits, or such a one is frightened out of his wits, is not so out of the way as some may imagine ; and the esquire mentioned just now is as effectually so frightened out of his wits, even in the letter of it, as is possible ; for nothing ever acted more like a fool than he does now ; except it was himself, when he made a jest of the reality of that very thing of which now he is so disordered with the shadow.

CHAP. XIV.

Of sham apparitions, and apparitions which have been the effect either of fraud or fear.

By sham apparitions I am to be understood such as have been put upon people by the fraud and craft of subtle knaves, in order to bring about their wicked designs, or such as fear and weak apprehension have presented to, and imposed upon the imagination. In short,

First, Apparitions with which people are cheated by others.

Secondly, Apparitions with which they cheat themselves.

First, Apparitions formed by the knavery of others, to cheat, abuse, and impose upon the credulity of the people. Such was the fable of Jupiter descending in a golden shower, and falling into the lap of Danae, whom he had a mind to debauch. And indeed, whose virtue could we think would in those days, (not to say a word of our more modest and sanctified ladies,) resist a shower of gold, falling into their lap? with a god in the middle of it too; but that by the way.

The like apparition that immortal ravisher of virgins, called Jupiter, made, when he stole the lady Europa, in the shape of a milk-white bull, inviting the lady to get up upon his back, and immediately jumps into the sea with her, and swims over the Hellespont; from whence the other side where she landed is called Europe to this day. Indeed when ladies come to ride upon bulls, what can they expect? Such was the horrid cheat put upon that

poor, virtuous, but bigoted Roman lady, persuading her that the god —— desired to enjoy her, which she in blind devotion submitted to with raptures of divine joy and elevation ; caused her bed to be laid in the sacristy of the temple, decked it with flowers and perfumes, and caused the debauched priest to be dressed up with robes of state, and offering rich odours all the night ; when at length, instead of the god, instead of the apparition which she expected, she was betrayed, and was violated by the traitor that lay in wait for her in the temple. Such again was the apparition of Apollo, which Lucian speaks of, which was seen suspended in the air, and carried or moved about from place to place in the temple of Apollo, at Hierapolis.—Lucian. *de Dea Syria*.

Such was the sordid imposture of Mahomet, who having brought up a tame pigeon to come to his ear, where he fed her always with pease or tares, so that she constantly came thither at his call, persuaded his followers that it was an apparition of the angel Gabriel, sent from God, to whisper divine oracles into his soul, and that he received the heavenly inspirations by that means. Such was the voice which pronounced him to be the prophet of the most high God, which voice sounding in the air, no person appearing to speak, was concluded to be the voice of an angel appearing to him, whereas it was spoken by his own direction by a poor fellow whom he had placed on purpose at the bottom of a well ; and when he found the imposture take with the people, he sent a detachment of his followers to fill up the well with stones, pretending it was that it should no more be profaned by any man or cattle drinking of its holy waters, from whence the voice of an angel had been heard ; but really to bury the poor wretch at the bottom of it, that he might not betray the secret, and discover the contrived delusion.

Such likewise was the story of the ass that carried him up into paradise, and that not only to one, but through seven or eight paradises or heavens, where he saw two-and-thirty thousand visions: and such were all the apparitions which that ridiculous impostor feigned to see upon every occasion; till his blinded followers believed him to be an apparition himself.

Such was the image of St. George, rightly called miraculous, which the Greeks to this day play horrible pranks with at the isle of Scyros, in the Archipelago, and which they put upon the people as an apparition indeed; exercising particular severities upon people in several cases: but as it is managed by the priests, so it is especially very furious upon all those that neglect to fulfil the vows made to the said St. George, or in general to all those that do not pay their debts to the clergy.

Monsieur Tournefort, in his voyage into the Levant, gives a diverting account of the conduct of this devil of Scyros; how they worry the ignorant people to death with it, and impose upon them by it in the grossest and absurdest manner possible. As there are not greater impostors in the world than the Greeks, and especially the Greek clergy, so there are not a more ignorant, easily-imposed-upon people in the world than the Greek laity; and especially those whom the Greek clergy have to do with: hence it is, that the most absurd reasonings go down with them, and indeed they may be truly said to be believers in the literal sense, for they take all things by the lump, and without reasoning at all upon them: if not, it would be impossible to possess them, as priests do, with a belief that the image of St. George moves the priest, not the priest the image, though he carries it about upon his shoulders.

Yet this is the fact: the image of St. George is no more than a picture, and that of very coarse

painting, representing St. George upon a log of wood ; it is placed over the great altar of the cathedral at Scyros, which is dedicated to that saint : when the church is full of people, the image is seen to move of itself ; this they call, and, were the fact true, it might well be called, the apparition of St. George : but, be the fact true or not, it is believed to be so, and that's as well, to all the intents and purposes of an apparition, as if the image were invigorated.

But, to speak it in their own words, the image is seen to move of itself, and to show itself in apparition to all the people ; for, notwithstanding its bulk and weight, it will transport itself through the air into the midst of the assembly ; there it hovers about, as it were, viewing every face and examining every heart ; if it finds any one that has failed to perform any vow to him, (the saint,) the image immediately fixes itself on the shoulders of the delinquent, singles him out, and not only he is exposed to the whole assembly, but the image plies him with furious and continued buffetings, till he becomes penitent, and promises again, in the face of the assembly, to pay what he owes to the church.

But this is not all : but when the assembly is thus purged by the justice of this ghost in an image, it is then taken up, and placed upon the shoulders of a blind monk, who carries it out of the church into the town ; the monk, being blind, and not knowing whither he goes, is guided by the occult impression of the image, who guides him as a rider guides a blind horse ; and thus he carries him directly to the house of such as are delinquent, in the case of debt to the altar of St. George.

Nor is it enough that the debtor, seeing the apparition or image coming to him, flies from it, and escapes from house to house, for the image causes the monk to follow him by the foot, as a hound does

a hare : so that, in a word, there is no escaping St. George, no flying from him, the monk is steady in his pursuit, ascends, descends, passes, repasses, enters all places, till the poor wretch, who may be truly said to be hunted down, or hounded down, as they express it in the north, is obliged to pay the utmost farthing.

This story fully confirmed my thoughts in a remark which I made from the beginning of this work, that really church apparitions are the most frightful, most teasing, and terrible, in their way, of all the real devils that walk about in the world.

But what need we wander thus among the ancients, and hunt among the Greek schismatics for artificial apparitions, and for ecclesiastic delusions of this kind? The Roman church, that true catholic establishment, built upon the solid rock of St. Peter himself, how full is it of glorious frauds of this kind ; and how has the whole scheme of papal tyranny been supported among the people in this very manner, ever since the great defection of the Roman hierarchy from its true primitive purity, and original holy institution !

Not that I propose to make this work a collection of church apparitions, whether popish or protestant, any more than I shall enter upon a reciting the *universalia* of state apparitions. It is well for this age, both in church and state, that my doctrine of the rest of souls is established ; for, certainly, if the souls of the departed could be disturbed either in heaven or hell, by the mad things, or the simple things, the good things, or the wicked things, transacted by their posterity in these days, there must be as great an uneasiness in those eternal mansions, on account of the present age, as ever there was since history gives us any account of things : never did any generation make such fools of their fathers, and such wise men of themselves, and both so unac-

countable ; sure it must be that the dead cannot come to the quick, and that they know nothing of us, or the whole world would be one apparition, and we should, as sir W—— B—— said above, have all come up again that was under ground ; the dead world would be too many for the living world, and we should meet ten apparitions in every street for one living creature.

But, to come to the case in hand, the first Christian apparition I meet with deserves our particular remark ; first, indeed, because of the importance of the occasion, namely, for the confirmation of the faith of all true catholics, in that great disputed, yet unsettled point, viz., whether ever St. Peter was at Rome or no ? a point so essential, and which the heretics take so much pains to make doubtful, that if we catholics do not establish it past all the cavils of our enemies, we do nothing ; and for this we bring the miraculous apparition of Jesus Christ to St. Peter, just without the city, and which carried Peter back again into the city ; so that, as he came out of Rome, and returned to Rome, Christ himself being witness to it, sure it can never be disputed any more.

This being of so great importance to the catholic church, it is meet I should bring you good authority for the relation ; and, therefore, thinking myself not competent, not a sufficient evidence, being perhaps suspected of heresy, I shall give it you out of the labours of an ancient father of the Roman church, and you shall have the story from his own mouth, and in his own words, as follows. It is the famous doctor Smith, a popish preacher in queen Mary's days, who boasted that he had overcome both bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer, in a dispute against them about St. Peter's having been at Rome. Take a piece of the reverend doctor's sermon.

The doctor's business was to take upon him to run down the poor oppressed confessors, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, and make them odious to the people; and, being to preach a sermon upon this subject at Whittington college, in London, (the same, or near it, that is now called St. Martin Vintry,) he begins thus:—

“My masters; you are in great error concerning the blessed sacrament, and all your trust was in Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer: as for Latimer, he said, in open disputation at Oxford, that he had no learning in that matter, but out of Cranmer's book; before this, I disputed with Latimer, twenty years ago, and then he had no learning; as for Cranmer, he said that his learning came from Ridley; and as for Ridley, I disputed with him, myself, now, at Oxford, the other day, and I proved my argument thus: *Ille cui Christus obviavit Romæ fuit Romæ; ac Christus obviavit Petro Romæ: ergo Petrus fuit Romæ.* That is, he whom Christ met at Rome was at Rome; but Christ met Peter at Rome, *ergo* Peter was at Rome.

“By this argument I prove two things, and singular mysteries of our faith.

“First, That Peter was at Rome, against those who clatter that Peter never was at Rome.

“Secondly, That if Peter met Christ bodily, as Abdias reporteth, and which I am sure is true, or else such an ancient and holy father would never have written it; then consequently he may as well be in the blessed sacrament, as he was met bodily. To this, Ridley stood like a block, and feeling himself convinced, answered nothing. Then said I, *Cur non respondes hæretice, hæreticorum hæreticissime?* did I not handle him well?

“Then he denied the minor, which I proved thus. Christ met Peter going out of Rome, and said, Good morrow, Peter! whither goest thou? Peter answered,

Good morrow, good man, whither goest thou? then said Christ, I go to Rome to suffer. What! saith Peter: I trow, unless I take my marks amiss, ye be Jesus Christ: good Lord, how do you? I am glad I have met you here. Then said Jesus Christ to Peter, Go back and suffer, or else I must; *et pro te, et pro me.*

“When Ridley had heard this my proof, and Abdias’s authority, a doctor ancient and irrefragable, he answered never a word; and thus I confuted Ridley in the audience of a thousand; and yet ye say, that Jesus Christ was never bodily on earth since his ascension.”

Here is an apparition of good fame, and of extraordinary authority; and if any objection can lie against it, it is only whether it be true or not; but I am not to answer for that, it is certainly true that the learned doctor preached this excellent sermon, and that’s enough for me.

But having thus given you an apparition of such great authority, namely, of Jesus Christ himself, I shall quote you a few others of a more modern kind, to confirm you in this principle, namely, that apparitions did not cease in the church: though miracles are said to cease, and prophecies cease, though oracles are dumb, and the dead do not return, yet that apparition is not wanting, and the artifices of the fathers remain; namely, that they can show you wonders in vision every day for the confirmation of that great catholic verity.

I might descend here to the famous apparition of Loudon, commonly called the Devil of Loudon; and the yet more famous apparition of Jetzer at Berne in Switzerland. These are indeed orthodox delusions, and both carried on with the utmost assurance, I had almost said villany, by the priests: but I am not come so far down yet on our way to modern roguery.

One of our popes I think insisted, that he had had an apparition of the Devil to him; whereas St. Francis and St. Ignatius each in their turn put the bite of apparition upon the world, in so many particular cases, that if they had not, as we may say, left it off in time, as the world took them for madmen and fools, they would have taken them for what they really were, viz., knaves and cheats, and have used them accordingly; and indeed it was once within an ace with St. Francis of his being whipped through the streets at Naples for an impostor; and he had but one way to get off, which was to add some things to his conduct so extremely silly and ridiculous, that he was taken for an idiot, and let run loose in the streets with a crowd of boys at his heels following and shouting at him, and throwing dirt and rotten eggs upon him. This he turned into a species of martyrdom, valued himself upon it, and would not suffer the filth to be scraped off from him; because it was the ornament and crown of his sufferings for preaching the gospel.

It was doubtful, for some time, whether this holy enthusiast had more apparitions of the blessed Virgin, or of the Devil, following him: it is true, some of our heretics affirmed he had no apparitions at all, either of the Virgin or of the Devil; but that it was all a devilish cheat, which he had the face to put upon the world. But this, they tell us, is too uncharitable; because it is supposing the wretch himself (who, it is allowed, was a very weak and silly, though an impudent fellow), was able to impose upon all the world at that time, who universally believed that he had seen some apparitions which elevated his mind to that degree of enthusiasm which he appeared acted by.

But then, if we must allow he was visited with apparitions, it must be of the Devil, not the blessed

Virgin ; because we have no Scripture authority to support the notion that she ever did, or can appear at all, either to him or anybody else ; and that all the pretended apparitions of the Virgin Mary, of what kind soever, which the legends are full of, are the mere impostures of the priests, as really and openly as if they had been seen to be performed : such was her speaking to St. Bernard, when he came up the nave of the great church at Milan, at four steps, twenty yards at a step ; at the first step he said *O felix !* at the second step, *O pia !* at the third step, *O sancta !* and at the fourth step, *Maria !* to which the image answered, *Salve Bernarde*. The marks of the four steps, Dr. Burnet, in his letters, tells us are to be seen in the church still, covered with little plates of brass, having the words severally cut upon them : and yet in spite of the relic we cannot for our lives believe that the silent image spoke to him, any more than that he stepped twenty yards at a stride.

Upon the whole, we are at a point with St. Francis, that if any apparition did haunt him, it was that of the Devil ; and they tell us this was so frequent, that at last he prayed to the Virgin, that the Devil might not be allowed to appear to him but upon extraordinary occasions ; and that whenever he did, he should have the better of the Devil, if he contended with him : after which the Devil never appeared to him at all in his own shape, as it seems he used to do, but always under some disguise, or in other persons' shapes, tempting him in those apparitions, as he found occasion ; but that he was always too hard for him, and drove him away. Who had the victory at last, history is silent : but some are apt to doubt that the Devil had the better of him then, for that we do not read much of his triumph over the Devil *in articulo mortis*.

St. Ignatius, the patron of the jesuits, pretended to make St. Francis, who was before him, his patron, and to mimic him in all his most ridiculous extravagances; and these of apparitions among the rest: and his life indeed is full of histories of apparitions, either of one saint or other, or of the Devil, or of the Virgin, upon all occasions, and some of them the most trifling and frivolous in the world.

St. Francis being very melancholy, earnestly desired to hear some music, being told that music would exhilarate the soul; and immediately an apparition of angels surrounded him, and making a concert of most harmonious music, played admirably for his consolation, for a very considerable while.

St. Ignatius had like apparitions of angels playing sweet lessons of heavenly music to him when he was writing his book of constitutions; likewise after his death a concert of angels made most excellent music at his grave, and several stars were seen placed upon his sepulchre.

(The first stars that were ever seen in apparition upon earth; nor indeed did I ever hear that the stars walked before.)

Some apparitions have been formed by the policy or rather the mere face of the priests, to prove their absurd doctrines. Surius, a zealous writer for invocation of saints, says, that whatever heretics may prate, (he should have said, whatever the Scripture may prate,) it is abundantly proved that the departed saints know our concerns on earth, and hear our petitions; and so he determines the question in controversy, viz., invocation of saints. Surius, *Not. ad Bonavent. in Vit. St. Francisci.*

He does not indeed offer anything to prove the fact, but several miraculous apparitions of the blessed Virgin to the devout priests praying to her, one of which may be as true as the other.

To prove the possibility of a person being in two places at once, we are assured of the following apparition of St. Ignatius.

Leonard Kesel, a jesuit of Cologne, passionately desired to see this extraordinary person, of whom he had heard such wonderful things related, and whose fame spread far and wide for a most wonderful man: Kesel, an honest well-meaning man, knowing very well the best way to see a man was to be brought to the place where he was, and having no notion of his being a worker of impossibilities, though he thought him a strange person too; yet, I say, not dreaming of miracles, he writes to Ignatius what a desire he had to see him, and begs his leave, (for Kesel being a priest of his order, he could not stir without license,) I say, begs his leave to come to Rome to receive his blessing.

Ignatius forbids him; positively assuring him that if such an interview was necessary, God would provide a way for it, without giving him the trouble of so long a journey.

Kesel did not understand the meaning of the answer, and was extremely dissatisfied to be so far under the displeasure of his superior, as to be denied coming to see him, which he so passionately desired; however he was obliged to submit, and waited the event.

Upon a day, says the story, when he least thought of it, behold Ignatius comes up into his cell, or chamber, and having talked with him a very considerable while, suddenly disappeared; leaving the jesuit exceedingly comforted with such a prodigious wonderful visit.

St. Francis did these things frequently, it seems, and rid through the air in a fiery chariot; which I dare say is as true as that St. Dunstan while he was a boy, flew down from the top of Glastenbury tor, or tower, a place well known in Somersetshire.

The conversion of St. Ignatius, they tell us, was brought to pass by an apparition of St. Peter to him, who came and touched his wounds received in battle, and healed them immediately; and yet it seems as if St. Peter was but a lame doctor, for that St. Ignatius halted, and that his leg was crooked as long as he lived, cannot be denied; whereas when St. Peter healed the impotent man at Jerusalem, the text says *He made him every whit whole*, Acts iii. 7, 8.

St. Francis is said to have done innumerable cures for sick and diseased persons, by appearing to them after his death, and I could fill a volume with the history of them; but it seems to be needless, all true catholics acknowledge it.

Pascal, Ignatius's chamber-fellow and companion, being reduced to great necessities after his death, implores the assistance of his colleague in the church of St. Lawrence, or some other church at Rome; immediately he heard a melodious sound, and saw Ignatius appearing to him, attended with a numerous and beautiful train of the servants of God; but what relief the apparition gave him in his extreme necessity, this deponent sayeth not.

But I may close the discourse of imposed apparitions with that memorable story of Jetzer, a Dominican in the monastery or house of Dominicans at Berne, in Switzerland: the forgery is manifest, and the reason of it; it was an imposition upon the Franciscans, and contrived to carry on the contention which was between the two societies to a complete victory.

The Franciscans insist upon the blessed Virgin's being immaculate, and born without original sin, sanctified from the womb, and therefore they canonize blessed St. Ann, who was the Virgin's mother, and make her a triumphant saint; almost as glorious as her daughter, and have a service for her, called, 'the Prerogatives of St. Ann, mother of the mother

of God:’ wherein they declare she conceived the blessed Virgin without the knowledge of a man, and that it was an apparition of two angels to her, which she relates to her husband Joachim. There’s an apparition too for the confirmation of the Franciscans. (That’s by the way.)

The Dominicans, on the other hand, deny that the Virgin is immaculate; they allow that she is conceived in sin, but that she continued under the culpa or defilement but three days; and they bring in an apparition of the blessed Virgin to this friar Jetzer, lamenting to him that they should go about to make her equal to her son in holiness, and confessing, in the words of the text, *that she was shapen in iniquity*, Ps. li. 5.

So here is one miracle to confute another, and perhaps both alike authentic.

But the story of Jetzer is full of miracles, all contrived by the prior, and three of the fathers: first, the apparition of a soul in purgatory comes to Jetzer with a box near his mouth, so contrived, that when he breathed upon it, it appeared to be all fire coming out of his mouth; he had also three dogs hanging upon him, and gnawing him as his tormentors.

In this posture he comes to the poor friar Jetzer in the dark, and when he was in his bed, tells him his deplorable condition, but that he might be taken out of purgatory by his means, and by his mortifications; and this story he backs with most horrible groans, as in the utmost misery by his sufferings.

(*You are to understand that this friar Jetzer was a fellow picked out to make a proper tool for these impostures, being very silly, and very devout; and had they not overacted the thing, the design might have gone a great way.*)

In consequence of the first apparition, they made the poor friar undergo severe discipline, whipping

and mortifications, and then the apparition came and thanked him, and told him he was delivered out of purgatory by his means ; so that part ended, to the infinite satisfaction of the poor macerated friar.

The next was the apparition of the same person, but in the habit of a nun, representing St. Barbara, and all in glory, telling him that the blessed Virgin was so delighted with his zeal and devotion, that she would visit him the next day in person, and give him her benediction for consolation in his sufferings and mortifications ; at which the fool, the friar I mean, was ravished with joy, and prepared himself and the whole convent to receive her.

At the appointed time the expected delusion appeared : the blessed Virgin, clothed with the utmost magnificence, dressed up with jewels, as she used to be on occasion of the most solemn festivals, attended by angels, which were seen to be flying about her, as her pages.

(They were the little carved angels which were placed in the church upon extraordinary days, and now placed as machines about the apparition, and lifted up in the air with pulleys fastened in the room above.)

In this equipage the lady, queen of Heaven, mother of God, was brought in apparition to her poor, mortified, and humble servant ; she caressed him with high expressions of affection to him, extolling the merit of his charity in suffering such severities for the mere love of delivering a poor tormented soul out of purgatory, owned to him that she was conceived in original sin, and told him pope Julius, who then held the chair, should put a final end to all those disputes, and should abolish the feast of her conception ; after much more to the same purpose, she promised him a mission to go to the holy father in her name, to assure him of the truth of the vision, and that it was her pleasure it should be so ; and, in

confirmation of it all, she gave him three drops of blood, which, she told him, were the tears Christ shed when he wept over Jerusalem; with abundance of such-like.

Here was a true sham apparition now, formed to establish a particular sect or society, and a particular profession, concerning the immaculate conception: here, could the impatient friars have set bounds to their revenge, they had had a complete victory over the Franciscans; nay, had St. Francis himself come up in apparition on the other side, it would not have balanced the cheat, for all the world began to give credit to the apparition.

But the priests knew no bounds; nothing would serve them but new apparitions to the friar, and new mortifications to the Franciscans; till, in short, Jetzer himself, as foolish and simple as he was, saw through it, detected the cheat, and, escaping out of the monastery, discovered it all to the magistrates, having twice escaped being poisoned by them; so the whole fraud ended at the gallows, or rather at the stake, for the four friars were condemned to be burnt, and were executed accordingly.

The history of the discovery is not to my purpose, it may be seen in many authors, as also the trial, sentence, and execution of the criminals at Berne, May 31, 1509, where they were all burnt together. But this part is effectually to my purpose, viz., that there has been, and, I doubt not, still is, a great deal of sham apparition imposed upon the world by the delusions of others; and, as it lies chiefly among the clergy, where must we look for it but where it is to be found?

Nor are the pagan clergy free from the same vile practices, namely, to forge apparitions to confirm their delusions; and the history of all countries is full of accounts of it, too many to repeat here.

The possessions and exorcisms in the dismal story of the devils of Loudon are full of apparitions and visions, by which the wretched fraud was carried on, and by which so much villany was practised, as is almost without example; a story which has already filled a book, and is extant in many languages; a fraud not outdone by the Brahmans and priests of the pagans in China or in Japan.

I might next entertain you with sham apparitions put in practice by the Devil himself, in those countries where he has made himself be worshipped as a god, and where he supports all the devil-worship by apparition; showing himself now one way, now another, as he finds it for his purpose; appearing one day in fire and flame, at another time in storm and tempest, at a third time in human and familiar shape; and, in all, the end is to keep up the dread of his person in the minds of his worshippers, and to preserve a reverence to his institutions, whatever they are.

If we may believe our writers of travels and observers of things, the Devil not only assumes human shape, but insinuates himself in the real person of a devil to the women, and so possesses them, to say no more of it, as to commit horrid nameless wickednesses with them, such as are not to be suggested without horror. In other places the apparition of the Devil is the fund of all their religious worship, and he has altars erected, and sacrifices, nay, which is worse, human sacrifices offered to him.

In these horrid performances he appears in terrible shapes, and the poor natives are so frightened at him, that the fear only excites the homage which they pay to him, and secures to him an entire sovereignty: for fear may, for aught I know, be the characteristic of a pagan worship, as love is that of a Christian.

The great temple of Montezuma at Mexico was little else but a horrible butchery of human carcases, the blood of which lay sprinkled or dashed against the walls, till it lay there hardened and congealed, if report may be believed, above a foot thick, and that they sacrificed at least twenty thousand people a-year in that one pagoda or temple.

The Indians confessed that they had frequent apparitions among them of the spirits, which they called by several names ; and that the great spirit, that is, the Devil, also appeared to them upon their great festivals, in bright and extraordinary apparition, to approve and accept of their worship and homage, and, no doubt, of their sacrifices too.

In Cochin China, we are told, the Devil goes further ; for he not only shows himself in apparition, but he utters lying oracles, even himself, in his proper person, and also whispers such answers to the priests, as serve to keep up a decorum in their worship, and a secret reverence to his person. And Father Borri says the Devil walks about there so frequently, and so familiarly in human shapes, that they are not at all disturbed at him.

At other times, as the same author affirms, they associate themselves with particular persons, upon various occasions, and especially with the women, as above ; so that, in short, in some cities which are very populous, it would be something hard to distinguish between the real people and the apparitions. How far, if it were examined into, it would not be the like among us, I won't pretend to say.

Who knows, in our throngs of divided Christians, whether he meets with a saint or an apparition, whether he talks with a counsellor or a devil ? and the art of discerning would indeed be well worth having ; indeed, it would be worth buying, if money would purchase it. The Devil's disguises are very

many, and apparition is one of the best of them, because he can soon change shapes, and change postures, which, in other cases, he may find less advantageous to his interest. Nor is it easy for mankind to come to the certainty, even when he sees an apparition, whether it be a good or an evil appearance; and the best way of finding it out, except that of judging by the errand he comes on, and which I have mentioned already, is to ask it the question directly; if it equivocates and shuffles, conclude it is the Devil, for he is a sharper, and a dissembler from the beginning; if it is a good spirit, it will answer you directly and honestly, and tell you its business at once; and this is what I mean where I say, Speak to it.

If you find it is a good spirit, hearken to it; if the Devil, defy it; and, whether it be a good or evil spirit, fear it not; for both are under the special direction and authority of him that made the world, and will govern it, in whose hands you are; and it is well it is so: for as good is above evil, so God is above the Devil. Tell him so, and bid him defiance, and, if you can but do it with a good heart, he is gone; depend upon it he'll never stand you; *probatum est*. But I must leave off the religious cheats, for they are endless: it is time to talk of apparitions of another nature, less serious, and less tiresome to hear of.

CHAP. XV.

Of imaginary apparitions, the apparitions of fancy, vapours, waking dreams, delirious heads, and the hippo.

As the Devil is not so black as he is painted, so neither does he appear in so many shapes as we make for him ; we dress him up in more suits of clothes, and more masquerade habits, than ever he wore ; and I question much, if he was to see the pictures and figures which we call Devil, whether he would know himself by some of them, or no.

It would require more skill than, I doubt, I am master of, to bring you all to a right method of thinking upon this subject ; however, I shall venture upon it, by way of essay, that you may form such images of the old gentleman in your mind, that you may not be cheated about him, may know him when you see him, may not call him out of his name, or bestow his right worshipful titles upon another.

It is observable, that, though most people, in all parts of the world, allow there is such a thing as a devil, an evil spirit, an arch-enemy of mankind, and they are pretty near one another in their several notions of him, for even those savages that worship him acknowledge they do so only that he may not hurt them, yet they differ exceedingly in their ideas of his person, and that almost everywhere ; and accordingly it follows that they must differ in their representations and pictures of him.

Some paint him one way, some another ; and yet I observe, so little goodwill they have for him any-

where, that they all picture him as ugly, as monstrous, and as deformed, as they can.

I have heard of some pagans who worship a black cloud for the Devil, because it often speaks in noises, and breathes out fire. I cannot say but worshipping the sun for a god, and the thunder and lightning for a devil, seems to me to have more sense in it than many of the other branches of idolatry in the world ; the one being the most natural resemblance of the greatest good, and the other of the greatest evil in the world.

Some, I am told, resemble or represent the Devil by a vast great globe of wood, carved or cut all over into mouths, described in a thousand different distortions, gaping, grinning, and voracious figures, all intimating a greedy, unquenchable thirst or appetite to devour and destroy ; rolling itself continually about, so that some of its thousand of mouths, being undermost, are always gaping and biting, and taking in something, but ever unsatisfied, the rest of them gaping still for more. If this hideous representation is not just to his form, I think, verily, it is just to his nature, and is very emblematic : the thoughts it gives birth to in our fancy may not be so remote as are formed by those simple, comic, and yet would-be-frightful draughts we draw of him, with a cock's bill, ass's ears, goat's horns, glaring eyes, bat's wings, cloven foot, and dragon's tail ; not one of which, except the last, having either antiquity or authority for them, that I know of.

It is true, he is described in the Apocalypse as a great red dragon, and in another place as a beast, but neither of them give us any true idea of his real form.

Now if we do not know his figure, how shall we know him in apparition ? for if we know nothing of his real shape, how shall we judge of him in his dis-

guise? how shall we single him out upon occasion? Suppose we were to look for him at a masquerade, for my part, I cannot deny but I might mistake him, and pitch upon a priest, or a Turk, a tinker, or a tarpaulin, and say this is the Devil, or that is the Devil, as soon as the real *hydra-pater* himself, and let him pass, perhaps, for a nobody worth taking notice of.

As, then, I say, we have such unguided notions of him, and know him so little in any of his uncouth figures and disguises, it is not so much wonder that we mistake every ugly, misshapen, monstrous thing, and call it by his venerable name.

How often has poor, unhappy, shapeless Z—— M—— been started at, even in the open day, nay, in the very sunshine! Bless me! says a fine lady in the Mall one day, as she passed him, sure, that's the Devil: why, sister, says she to the lady that was next her, did not you see it? I'll be gone, I'm frightened out of my wits; why, if I should meet it again I shall sink into the ground. I'm sorry I did not see him, says the sister, for I want mightily to see the Devil; but I was, happily, better employed, for just that moment sir G—— D——, that glory of heroes, the brightest of men, went by me; my soul flew along with him, dear sister, 'tis hardly come back yet.

O! you're happy, sister; you saw a heavenly, I an infernal; you an archangel, I the Devil: let me go, sister, for I'm undone if I see him again; if I were with child I should bring forth a monster.

He had not gone twenty yards further but a knot of ladies met him; it seems they were Roman Catholics, and they all crossed themselves, and looked up to heaven, said every one of them an Ave and a Pater, and went on as fast as they could.

A lady big with child had the misfortune to be next, who was so frightened, she fell into fits, went

home, and miscarried; and lastly, which was more unhappy, just as he stepped out of the Mall, at the turning to St. James's, he almost jostled another lady that was nearer her time, and she immediately called for a chair, was carried away, fell into travail, and died in childbed.

And yet this piece of deformity, this scare-devil, Z—— M——, is an honest good-humoured fellow as lives, and I happened to see him soon after.

What have you done Zach.; said I, was you in the park to-day?

Yes, I was, says he; Why, what's the matter? have any of the ladies fallen in love with me?

Yes, yes, says I, you put the whole Mall in an uproar.

I thought so, says he; I knew I should have admirers as well as other beaus: why not, pray? but let 'em die, I am inexorable.

But do you know what mischief you have done? said I in earnest.

Not I, says he, but I suppose I may have frightened somebody or other with my Devil's face; and what then? how can I help it? If they don't like me, they may look off o' me.

Why, no, says I, it seems they can't.

No, no, beauty is attractive, you know, and so is deformity, says he; if you meet a will-with-a-wisp you can't look off of it: they will look at me, they can't help it, and they look so long you see, that I fright every now and then one or two of them into love with me.

Hard fate of the sex, said I, Zach., that men should be so scarce, they must be in love with the Devil. I am persuaded many of them take you for an apparition.

That's a sign of horrid ignorance, says he merrily; why, he is not half so ugly as I am. 'Tis a sign they

don't know him; I tell you the Devil's a comely fellow to me, Jack.

Thou art an ugly dog, that's true, said I, but thou art the best-humoured, goodest-natured creature alive, said I: upon my word, I'd be Z—— M——, though I frightened all the ladies in the park, to have half the wit, and sense, and good-humour that is covered with so much deformity.

And I'd be anything but two, says he, to be but just tolerable to mankind, and not fright the horse I ride on.

But two! What two, pray? said I. Are there two things you would not change for?

Yes, says Z——, I would not be a fool or a beggar; but especially not the first.

Now what is the case of this unhappy gentleman? it is quite the reverse of what the ladies take him for; one says he is the Devil, and another says 'tis the Devil, and another that it is an apparition; and the last is true. But of what? not of the Devil, I assure you. Apparitions, they say, generally assume a different likeness; the Devil never masks in deformity, an angel may; the Devil often puts on the beau and the beauty; he is to-day a smart young rattling fop, to-morrow a smirk, a spruce, a harlequin; to-day he is a devout lady at prayers, to-morrow a coquet, a masker at the ball; but it is all fine and clever: he very rarely puts on ugliness, for that would be no disguise to him.

On the contrary, when a bright seraph dresses in form, it takes up the extreme of its contrary; and a divine and exalted soul may put on the habit of an unsightly carcase, to appear in the world in a more complete masquerade; and thus it was with my friend Zach. M——, his outside was indeed a masquerade to him, he was perfectly the reverse of what he appeared, and he had the brightest and sublimest

soul that was ever wrapped up in flesh and blood, in the posture or habit of something uglier to look on than the Devil.

In a word, he was a devil to the imagination, for everybody thought of the Devil when they saw him; went home and told their maids and their children they had seen the Devil, and told it over so often, till they believed it themselves, and so made a real apparition of him, as it were by the mere force of his extraordinary countenance.

Yet the honest gentleman had no horns on his head, no cock's bill, or a cloven foot, I assure you; but was mere Zach. M——, as merry and as good-humoured a creature as ever lived; full of wit, master of learning, temper, and a thousand good qualities, without one bad one; nothing amiss in him, or about him, but his outside, and, as to that, nothing so frightful in the three kingdoms.

Now if meeting poor mortified merry Zach. M—— should raise the vapours among us, and from a little jesting at first, fright the poor ladies into miscarriage, travail, and the grave; make them go home, and say in jest, they had seen the Devil, till they believed it in earnest; what will not the like ungovernable fancy, and power of a frightened imagination, prevail upon us to think or say?

A sober grave gentleman, who must not wear a name in our story, because it was rather a distemper in his mind than a real deficiency of brains, had by a long disuse of the sprightly part of his sense, which he really had no want of at other times, suffered himself to sink a little too low in his spirits, and let the hypochondria emit too strongly in vapour and fumes up into his head. This had its fits and its intervals; sometimes he was clear-sighted, and clear-headed, but at other times he saw stars at noonday, and devils at night: in a word, the world

was an apparition to his imagination, when the flatus prevailed, and the spleen boiled up; of all which he could give no account, nor could he assist the operation of physic by any of his own powers towards a cure.

It happened that he was abroad at a friend's house later than ordinary one night, but being moonlight, and a servant with him, he was easy, and was observed to be very cheerful, and even merry, with a great deal of good humour, more than had been observed of him for a great while before.

He knew his way perfectly well, for it was within three miles of the town where he lived, and he was very well mounted; but though the moon was up, an accident which a little disordered him, was, that it was not only cloudy, but a very thick black cloud came suddenly, (that is to say, without his notice, so it was suddenly to him,) and spread over his head, which made it very dark; and to add to the disorder, it began to rain violently.

Upon this, being very well mounted, as I have said, he resolved to ride for it, having not above two miles to the town; so clapping spurs to his horse, he galloped away. His man, whose name was Gervais, not being so well mounted, was a good way behind. The darkness and the rain together put him a little out of humour; but as that was a little unexpected, perhaps it made him ride the harder, rather than abated his pace.

In the way there was a small river, but there was a good bridge over it, well walled on both sides; so that there was no danger there, more than anywhere else; but the gentleman kept on his speed to go over the bridge, when being rather more than half over, his horse stopped on a sudden, and refused, as we call it. bearing off to the right hand; he saw nothing at first, and was not much dis-

composed at it, but spurred his horse to go forward; the horse went two or three steps, then stopped again, snorted, and stared, and then offered to turn short back: then the gentleman looking forward to see what was the matter, and if he could observe what the horse was scared at, saw two broad staring eyes, which, as he said, looked him full in the face.

Then he was heartily frightened indeed; but by this time he heard his man Gervais coming up. When Gervais came near, the first thing he heard his master say, was—Bless me, it is the Devil! at which Gervais, a low-spirited fellow, was as much frightened as his master. However, his master, a little encouraged to hear his man so near him, pressed his horse once more, and called aloud to Gervais to come; but he, as I said, being frightened too, made no haste; at length, with much ado, his master, spurring his horse again, got over the bridge, and passed by the creature with broad eyes, which, the light a little increasing, he affirmed positively, when he was passed, was a great black bear, and consequently must be the Devil.

Though Gervais was near enough, yet fearing his master would set him to go before, he kept as far off as he could. When his master called he answered indeed, but did not come on, at least did not make much haste; but seeing his master was gone past, and that he himself was then obliged to follow, he went on softly, and when he came to the bridge he saw what it was his master's horse snorted at and refused to go on; of which you shall hear more presently.

His master's horse, being got past the difficulty, needed no spurs, but, as frightened horses will, flew away like the wind; and the rain continuing, his master, who on many accounts was willing to be at home, let him go, so that he was at home and

got into the house long before his man Gervais could get up with him.

The master, as soon as he came into the light, swooned away, and the fright had had such an effect upon him, that when, with much difficulty, they had brought him to himself, he continued very ill; and when his lady, and a sister he had in the house with him, as much overrun with the hippo as himself, came to inquire what had happened to him, he told them a formal story, that at such a bridge he met the Devil; that he placed himself just at the coming off from the bridge, on his left hand, at the corner of the wall; that he stood and stared in his face, and that he could distinctly perceive it was the Devil in the shape of a bear. He gave other descriptions, so punctual and particular, that there was no room to doubt but it was an apparition, and that it was in the shape of a great bear.

Gervais came home soon after, and going into the stable directly, as was his business, to take care of his master's horse as well as his own, there he told the story his way among the other servants, and especially two or three grooms and servants belonging to gentlemen that were neighbours; and he tells them that his master was in great danger of being thrown over the wall of the bridge, for that his horse was frightened at an ass which stood just at the corner of the wall; and it was my fault, indeed, says Gervais, for it was a young horse, and I had never told my master; but it was a trick he had got that he could not abide an ass, and would by no means come near one if he could help it.

And are you sure it was an ass, Gervais? say the other servants, staring at one another as if they were frightened. Are you sure of it? Yes, says Gervais, for as soon as my master got by it, I rode up to it and threshed it with my stick, and it

fell a braying, which you know, says Gervais, is a base ugly noise, and so I came away and left it.

Why Gervais, say they, your master believes it was the Devil, as really as if he had spoken to it.

I'm sorry my master should be so frightened, says Jarvis; but I am very sure it was nothing but an ass. But the story had gotten vent, and the first part of it flew all over the town, that Mr. — had seen the Devil, and was almost frightened to death.

Then came his man Jarvis's tale, and made it appear that Mr. —'s strange and wonderful apparition was dwindled into an ass, and that the Devil he had seen in the shape of a bear was no more than a poor boricco, as the Italians call him; this made his master be laughed at sufficiently.

However, poor Jarvis, or Gervais, was fain to turn out, and lost his place for it; and the wise Mr. — to this day insists upon it, that it was the Devil, and he knew him by his broad eyes; though it is known that a bear has very little eyes. But it is impossible to persuade any vapourish body, that they have not seen the Devil, if they have but seen something, and that they are very sure they are not sure what it is.

I remember a delusion almost as gross, the memory of which I believe remains for a truth to this day. Not far off of the town of Dorking in Surry, the people, or some people rather, entertained a notion, from the following passage, that a ghost walked in such a place; that she (for it was an ancient lady lately dead) was seen hovering about the mansion-house which was left uninhabited for some time, that she would be up and down in the house very often in the daytime, making a rumbling and a clattering noise; and in the night-time she walked in the neighbouring fields with a candle in her hand, and that though the wind blew ever

so hard, it would not blow the candle out; that sometimes she would appear in the open field, sometimes up in the trees, and, particularly, there was a little heath near Dorking called the Cottman Dean, where it was said she was frequently seen.

There was a boarding-school of boys in that town, where there was in particular some roguish London boys, who contrived all this walking from the beginning to the end:—First, they got a small rope, and tying one end of it to an old chair which stood in an upper room of the house, (for they had found means to get in and out of the house at pleasure) they brought the other end of the rope down on the outside of the house in a private place where it could not easily be seen, and by this they pulled the old chair up and then let it fall down again, and made a great noise in the house, so as it might be easily heard by the neighbours; then other boys of the same gang took care to call out to the old women in the next houses, that now they might hear the old lady a playing her pranks; and accordingly they would all assemble in the courtyard, where they could plainly hear it, but not one would venture to go up stairs. If any offered to go up a little way, then all was quiet again; but as soon as ever they retired, the rumbling would begin again. This was for the day.

In the night, one of these unlucky boys had gotten a dark lanthorn, which was a thing the country people did not understand, and with this he walked all about the orchard, and two or three closes near the house, sometimes showing the light on this side, and then his comrades calling all the old women about 'em to see it, on a sudden the light would go out, the boy closing up the lanthorn; and then he would run swiftly across the whole field, and show his light again on the other side. Now he would be up in a tree, then in the road, then

upon the middle of the heath ; so that the country people made no more question, but that the old lady walked with a candle in her hand, than that they saw the light of it ; and in a word, it passed for an apparition as certainly as we, on the other hand, knew what knavery agitated it all.

It must be confessed that a dark lanthorn, joined with an enthusiastic head, might prevail to make such a sham take, with weak and bigoted people, and they were mighty willing to say beforehand that they were sure something walked.

When they heard the chair tumble about in the chamber, though pulled by a string, and nobody near it, no, nor in the whole house, the people who came together in the courtyard, fancied often they saw heads of people moving up and down the room where the noise was, and one said positively she saw a white headdress.

But to realize the delusion, one cried out, There's the spirit, there's the ghost, just at such a place of the window ; and affirmed it stood close to the glass, and described it ; another, as moon-blind as herself, says, Ay, so it does, and points peremptorily to the place, declaring that she sees it plainly ; and thus they run away with it all together, that the ghost walks, and the house is haunted ; and for a long time it is believed no other, when here was nothing but the mean contrivance of a few boys.

The notion of spirits appearing to discover where money has been buried, to direct people to dig for it, has so universally prevailed with womankind, I might say, and even with mankind too, that it is impossible to beat it out of their heads ; and if they should see anything which they call an apparition, they would to this day follow it, in hope to hear it give a stamp on the ground, as with its foot, and then vanish ; and did it really do so, they would not fail to dig to the centre, if they were able, in

hopes of finding a pot of money hid there, or some old urn with ashes and Roman medals ; in short, or some considerable treasure.

A country gentleman had an old-built house, which was the remains of an old demolished monastery, or religious house, and he resolved to have it pulled down, but thought the charge too much to bestow ; so he bethought himself of a stratagem, which was to give it out that the house was haunted, and this he did so artificially, that it began to be currently believed ; for he made a fellow dress himself up in white, and pass swiftly across the inner court of the house, just at a time when he had appointed others to be at the window to see it.

They gave notice to the house that there was an apparition ; then the master and mistress, and all the family, were called up to the window, where, though it was so dark that they could not distinguish what he was, yet they plainly saw the thing in white go across the yard, and in at a door of the old building ; soon after it was in, they perceived a flash of fire in the house, which was contrived that the fellow should make with some brimstone and other materials on purpose, so that it should leave a stench of sulphur behind it, but not be just the smell of gunpowder.

As he expected, it began to work ; some fanciful people having notice of it, and being desirous to see the same apparition, had the occasion offered them, and saw it in its usual manner of showing itself ; its frequent walking was ordinary, at one part of the house where the spirit had an opportunity to slip out at a door into another yard, and so into the dwelling-house ; and when it went off that way, it gave a great stamp with its foot, and immediately it was gone.

Upon this it was presently said there was money hid, and the gentleman gave it out that he would

dig there for it, and mighty eager people were to have it done ; however, the gentleman seemed to cool in the matter : still the apparition was seen to come and go, walk to and again, almost every night, and ordinarily it vanished in a flash of fire as above, which, in a word, was very extraordinary.

At length some of the townspeople in the village adjoining, finding the gentleman began to slight or neglect it, gave out that if esquire —— would give them leave, they would dig, for that certainly money was hid there ; nay, if he would consent they should have it if they found it, they would dig for it and find it too, though they digged the whole house down.

The gentleman replied, that it was not fair for them to pull his house down and have all they found too, that was too hard ; but he would consent to this, that provided they would carry away all the rubbish, and all the materials which they dug down, and pile up the bricks and timber in the yard near the house, and would be content with half they found, he would give them leave to dig.

Well, they consented, and to work they went ; the spirit or apparition which appeared at first seemed to point out the place, and the first thing they took down was a great stack of chimneys, and a heavy piece of work it was ; but the gentleman, willing to encourage them, secretly hid seven-and-twenty pieces of old gold in a hole in the chimney, which had no entrance into it but by one passage, which he bricked up.

When they came to this money they were perfectly deluded, and out of their wits ; the gentleman happened to be near, but not just upon the spot when it was found, and he being called, very frankly gave it them all ; but upon condition they should not expect the like, if they found any more.

In a word, this bite made the country fellows

work like horses, and more came into the knot; but that which encouraged them further was, they did really find several things of value in pulling down the house, which perhaps had lain hid from the time of demolishing it as a religious house; and some money was found too; but continual expectation and hope of finding more so animated the fellows, that in short they pulled the whole house down; nay, I might say, they pulled it up by the roots, for they dug up the very foundations, which was what the gentleman desired, and would have given a great deal of money to have had done.

Nor did they leave the house in a heap of rubbish; but, according to his agreement with them, they carried the materials away, and set up the timber and old bricks in an adjacent yard as he directed them, and in good order too.

So violent was the persuasion, that (upon this fancied apparition walking in the house) money was hid there, that nothing could stop the eagerness of the country people in working; as if the souls of the old nuns or friars, or whatever they were who had hid any treasure there, supposing any was hid, could not be at rest, as was said in other cases, or could be any way concerned for the finding it so many years afterward, being almost two hundred years.

If they could suppose anything so weak, where must they suppose those departed souls or ghosts could have been during all that time? and why did they not appear before? what had all the ages between done, to be so much less in their favour, that they did not come to discover this money to them? but that the deposit should remain under ground so long, without any inquiry after it, till this age, not at all more worthy than their ancestors, should be informed of it.

There is not a thing in nature so generally re-

ceived which has so little foundation either in reason or religion, either in nature or common sense ; it seems not only absurd, but ridiculous ; there is not only no religious reason in it, but it is inconsistent with itself : what seems only wonderful and unaccountable in it is, that such gross things should make such impressions, and that it should be so impossible to beat it out of the heads of the possessed people.

If you should offer to tell them that no hidden money was ever thus discovered, they would laugh at it as the greatest jest imaginable, and tell you there were five hundred examples to the contrary ; and yet, in all my search after those things, and after evidence of fact, I cannot arrive to one example where ever an apparition directed to the finding money hid in the ground, or earth, or any other place, and that any authentic voucher has been brought to prove it. I know there have been many, perhaps thousands, of such stories told, and the particulars are handed down with them ; but, I say, I never met with any authentic proof of the fact, such as that the story might be told after them for truth, and that a man might say, without blushing, that he believed it. And let us but enter a little into the usual manner in which those tales are related ; there seems to be something so weak and silly in the telling, as if it was only calculated for children and chimney-corners : for example, the apparition is called a ghost, it is dressed up (to suit the weakness of the imagination) in a shroud, as if it came just out of the coffin and the churchyard, and as if the habit of the dead was assumed to possess the people with the fancy of its being really the dead body of the person, and yet allow it, at the same time, to be a spirit.

Well, when it comes, and (be it what you will) forms itself in apparition, all in white, and in a

shroud ; what's next ? it says nothing to you, but goes away before you, and perhaps speaks and bids you go or come along with it, or perhaps, without speaking at all, leading and beckoning the parties they have appeared to to follow them, and then stamping with the foot, it disappears at once.

This stamp with the foot is reckoned to be a direction to you to dig just there, in order to find some extraordinary treasure ; and he would be reckoned very stupid and sordidly dull that should neglect the direction, and not dig there ; and many a vain and fruitless pit has been dug on such occasions to no purpose at all.

But that I may not declare my infidelity in these things in an unreasonable manner, and disbelieve without any just reason, let me give you a long story, which seems to be left upon record, of a pedler in the town of ———, in Suffolk ; a story believed as certainly as the gospel, and which it would be thought very absurd for any one to question the truth of.

There was a pedler, says the story, who used to travel about the country with his pack, but kept a chamber or warehouse in the market-town, for the depositing and laying up some goods which he had there, and which were too many at a time to carry them all about with him.

It happened that this man, having been abroad late, and coming home with his pack, sat himself down upon a stile, resting his pack at the same time for his ease ; while he sat here, there came up to him a ghost, in the appearance of a woman, dressed as above ; she came up to him with a smiling countenance, and, when she discovered herself, she stepped backward, and, holding up a fine white hand, beckoned to him with a finger to follow her.

The pedler, frightened as he was, immediately followed the apparition, (what he did in the mean

time with his pack, that's a gap in the story, which tradition has not supplied;) the apparition leads him in this manner, going backward, and beckoning with her hand, over two or three fields, till it came to a particular place, where there lay a great stone, and there, giving a stamp with its foot, it vanished.

The man takes the hint, marks the stone, goes home to carry his pack, as we ought to suppose, and comes out the next night with a spade and a pickaxe, and goes to work to dig a great pit in the earth.

He had not dug far, it seems, (though the story does not say expressly how far,) but he found a large chest; I say large, for it could not be a small one, by what you shall hear presently.

He doubled his diligence when he came to the chest, and, with great labour, at length got it out of the place; and, we may suppose, was not long before he found means to split it open, and get into the inside of it to see the contents; for he found it very heavy when he laboured to get it out.

In a word, he found the chest full of silver, that is to say, full of money; then, keeping his own counsel, he took care to deposit it so, that by some and some he got the money all safe home, and after that carried the chest home also.

What the sum was that he found here the story is not particular in; but, it seems, the bulk was such, that the pedler thought fit to leave off his travelling about the country as a pedler, takes a house in the town, furnishes himself a shop, and becomes a settled inhabitant and shopkeeper. During his appearing in this figure it happened that the parish church, being exceeding old, and out of repair, the parishioners (whether by order of the diocesan upon a visitation, or by the voluntary act and deed of themselves, the parishioners, I know not) resolved to repair the church.

In order to furnish the needful sums for this good work, they call a vestry, and propose a subscription of the inhabitants for supporting the expense ; so the minister and churchwardens go about from house to house, to see what the charitable parishioners would contribute, and among the rest they at length came to the pedler's (now shopkeeper's) house, and he, being told their business, desires them to walk in.

After some discourse, and perhaps treating his neighbours, he asks for their roll or subscription-paper, in order to subscribe ; looking over the roll, he sees sir Thomas ———, 5*l.*, another gentleman 5*l.*, another, 10*l.*, another, 2*l.*, and so on ; Come, says he, give a poor pedler the pen and ink ; will your gentry subscribe no more than that ? so he takes the pen, and subscribes 25*l.*

Some time after this, having occasion to make a hatch to his shop door, as in the country is very frequent, it happened, that, sending for a workman to make this hatch, and looking about among his old lumber, he found nothing so proper as the old chest that the money was found in, and accordingly a hatch was made of it.

A while after this, as the pedler was sitting in his shop, he observed an ancient gentleman who lived in the town, and who had the reputation of a scholar, and particularly of a great antiquary, stood poring very earnestly, with his spectacles on, upon his new hatch. This brought the pedler to the door, who, after waiting a good while to see what it was the old gentleman had discovered, at last he asked him what it was he found upon his new hatch that was worth so much of his notice.

Truly neighbour, says the gentleman, what I observe is very remarkable, though I cannot tell the meaning of it ; and I suppose it is in a character

that you cannot easily read, as well as in a language that you may not understand.

The pedler desired he would read it to him.

Why, says the gentleman, you do not understand it, when I have read it.

But sir, says the pedler, can you not tell the meaning of it in English?

Why, says the old gentleman, it is the old Saxon English in the ancient Gothic character, and it may be read thus,

Where this once stood
Stands another twice as good.

Hum! says the pedler, that's old stuff indeed: what can that signify?

Nay, says the old gentleman, that I don't know, for who can tell where this stood?

Ay, who indeed? says the pedler. And if they did, what can there be in that?

They had a little more chat of that kind; but, in short, the pedler got rid of his old gentleman as soon as he could, and began to ruminate upon the thing; Where this stood! Why I know well enough, says he to himself, where this stood; I must go and see, it may be there is some more of the same.

But then he argued, why this is so many years ago, (six or seven at least, it seems,) and if it was a ghost or spirit that showed me the way to it, I warrant she has showed somebody else the way to the rest. Indeed I did not deserve it that I did not look further when I was at it; to be sure it's gone by this time.

Thus he argued himself almost out of the thing again, till at length he told his wife of it, who it seems had been in the secret before.

Why, you are mad, says she, why don't you go immediately to the place?

Nay, says he, I don't know whether I can find it again or no now.

What! says his wife, must the Devil come to

show it you again? sure you a'nt so dull, but you may find it again?

Well, the man went however: indeed, his wife drove him out almost, Go, try, says she, you can but come without it.

He goes, and found the place in general, but could not distinguish the particular spot, which was levelled partly by himself when he filled up the hole again, and partly grown up with grass and weeds; so he comes back again, and tells his wife he could not tell which was the place, so as to be particular enough to go to work.

Well, says his wife, go in the night. I warrant you the good devil that showed you the first will put you in some way to find the rest, if there is any more.

So prevailed with by his wife's importunity, away he went, and I think they say his wife went with him; being come to the place, the apparition appeared to them again, and showed them, in the same manner as before, the very spot; and then vanished.

In short, the man went to work, and digging a little deeper than he did before, he found another chest or coffer, bound about with iron, not so big as the other, but richer; for as the first was full of silver, so this was full of gold.

They carried it home with joy enough, as you may suppose, and opening it, found, as above, a very great treasure. Fame has not handed down the sum; but something may be guessed at by the latter part of the story, which is told thus:—

It seems that all this while the repair of the church (mentioned above) went on but slowly; according to the old saying, it was church work; and a vestry being called upon some other church work, the pedler, who was present, among the rest of his neighbours, took occasion to complain that he thought that business was not honestly managed,

that it was, indeed, like church work, carried on heavily.

Some of the gentlemen took him up a little, and told him he took too much upon him; that it was none of his affair; that he was not in trust for the work; that they to whom it was committed knew their business, and that he should let it alone, and mind his shop.

He answered, it was true that he was not trusted with it, if he had, it should have been finished before now; and that he had a right to complain, because he paid to it as well as other people; adding, that if they did not despatch, he would complain to the bishop, and obtain another visitation.

This alarmed the people intrusted, so they gave him good words, and told him, the truth was, the parish stock was almost gone, and that they had not money to go on until the gentlemen would come into a second collection.

Say you so? says the pedler; there may be some reason in that. You can't go on, indeed, without money; but pray how much do you want?

They told him it would cost near two hundred pounds more to finish it, and do but indifferently neither; for the roof wanted to be taken off, and they feared the timber was rotten, and would require so much addition, they were afraid to look into it.

In a word, he bid the churchwardens call a vestry upon that particular affair, and he would put them in a way to finish it.

A vestry was called; the pedler told them that seeing they were poor, and could not raise money to go on with it, they should leave it to him, and he would finish it for them.

Accordingly he took the work upon himself, laid out near a thousand pounds, and almost new built

the church; in memory of which, on the glass-windows, there stand the figures of the pedler and his pack, and (as the people fancy) there is also the apparition beckoning to him, to come to the place where he dug up the money.

Thus far the story. How tradition came to hand it down to us in this manner, and so turn it into a fable, I have nothing to do with; but the real and more probable part of the tale is recorded thus:—

That there was a pether, so the old English calls him, that is a pedler, who having long used to travel up and down the country with his horse and his wife and himself, all three loaded with their goods, and going from house to house for many years, was grown rich by his industry; and that being too old to continue the laborious part, he took a lodging, first in the town, and sold his goods in a chamber, and in the markets only, but afterward took a house and a shop in the market-place, and drove a great trade.

That growing thus to be very rich, he contributed upon their first coming about for a subscription twenty-five pounds towards the repair of the church; and after that, finding they wanted money to finish it, took the work wholly into his own hand, and finished the church at his own charge; and that the parish in gratitude to his memory, caused that figure of the pedler to be painted upon the glass, where the pedler and his pack is represented in one place travelling about the country, by which he got his living.

In another place, there are workmen digging the foundation of the church, and the pedler giving them directions what to do, and how to proceed; and in another, the church is built up a great way, and almost to the roof, and the pedler still directing.

In another place, an angel is painted standing by

the pedler, and pointing with a rod or staff in his hand, to a place where the pedler sets two workmen to dig.

Now from the pedler's being grown so unexpectedly rich, common fame, it seems raised a report, that he had found a chest of money in the ground, and after that another. It seems also, there is an original for the two verses too, which is thus : when the pedler had first contributed twenty-five pounds towards building the church, and yet the parishioner, told him they could not go on for want of money, he told them they should not be discouraged, he had given them one bag of money, and, says he, where that stood, stands another twice as good. I'll do't myself.

Hence they thought the pedler must certainly have found some money that had been hid in the ground, and that the Devil had discovered it to him ; and so came the whole story to grow up by little and little into the form as I have told it ; and now to confirm it further, they tell us the angel, which perhaps might be but indifferently painted on the glass, or on the wall of the church, is taken for the ghost that discovered the two chests of money to the pedler, and is showing where to dig for it.

Thus the story of an apparition is handed on to posterity, and now it is as currently believed in the country, almost as the gospel ; and any man would be thought very bold, that should pretend to contradict it, or to say that it is not true in every particular.

If all the stories of apparitions leading people to dig for money, were as well traced as this, I believe they might be found as plainly fictitious. Invention has been mighty fruitful upon this particular kind of notion, that when money is hidden some spirit or apparition will discover it ; as if the souls of those that hid the money were disturbed, till it was found out and made use of.

How absurd the very suggestion itself is, I can hardly think worth while to speak of again; but there are other difficulties in it also, if an apparition knows of and discovers this money.

1. Why not discover it sooner? Why let it lie in the ground, sometimes two or three hundred years, before it has been discovered? and then an apparition comes, from none knows where, to bring it to light.

2. Why is the discovery made to a stranger, and not to some of the line or race of those to whom the money did at first belong? One would suppose the apparition came, or was sent, or directed to come to do justice, and to give the money lost to the right owner; whereas these discoveries are often pretended to be made to strangers, who have no claim or any right to it, or any relation to those who laid it there; and this indeed is unaccountable, and makes the rest of the story improbable to be true.

3. If ghosts, or apparitions, and spirits, or call them what you will, are thus officious and busy to discover money hid in the earth, so as to run up and down to strangers, who are no way related to it, or to the race or families who were first concerned in it; why then do they not discover all the money that is thus deposited in the dark? and which no doubt is yet in great quantities, lodged out of the reach of mortal sight, and of which we find frequent discoveries made; as particularly a great parcel of old gold, found lately in the digging up the old foundation of a house in Oxfordshire: a great parcel of Roman gold coin and medals found this very year, in digging up an old vault in France, and which must have lain there a thousand years at least, and no kind apparition came to discover it in so long time.

Many such examples are daily shown us of money found under ground, without the help of the Devil,

or of any apparition, spirit, or ghost, to discover it, and which had lain, ever since the time of the Romans, concealed and unknown.

From all which reasons I must conclude that the departed spirits know nothing of these things, that it is not in their power to discover their old hoards of money, or to come hither to show us how we may come at it; but that in short, all the old women's stories which we have told us upon that subject, are indeed old women's stories, and no more.

I cannot quit this part of my subject without observing that, indeed, if we give up all the stories of ghosts and apparitions, and spirits walking, to discover money that is hid, we shall lose to the age half the good old tales which serve to make up winter-evening conversation, and shall deprive the doctrine of souls departed coming back hither to talk with us about such things, of its principal support; for this indeed is one of the principal errands such apparitions come about.

It is without doubt, that fancy and imagination form a world of apparitions in the minds of men and women, (for we must not exclude the ladies in this part, whatever we do,) and people go away as thoroughly possessed with the reality of having seen the Devil, as if they conversed face to face with him; when, in short, the matter is no more than a vapour of the brain, a sick delirious fume of smoke in the hypochondria; forming itself in such and such figure to the eyesight of the mind, as well as of the head, which, all looked upon with a calm revision, would appear as it really is, nothing but a nothing, a skeleton of the brain, a whimsey, and no more.

So hypochondriac vapours represent
Ships, armies, battles, in the firmament :
'Till steady sight the exhalation solves,
And all to its first matter, cloud, dissolves.

It is out of question that the imagination forms a

great many of these visions in the heads of the people that relate them again to us ; and they as firmly believe them to be real apparitions, as I believe them to be nothing but vapours and cloud. But on the other hand, it cannot be denied but that there is a strange forwardness among our people to propagate, nay, to raise and invent such stories of apparitions and visions ; to furnish them out with popular circumstances, and to spread them as realities, merely and on purpose to form a plausible relation ; and perhaps some, according to custom, fall into that old schoolboy's error, of telling the tale over so often till they believe it to be truth.

But all this fiction and fable, of which the world is so full, does not at all lessen the solid part which I first advanced, and still insist upon, viz., the reality of apparition in general ; for the fruitfulness of other men's imagination in coining of falsehood, does not at all lessen the validity of a truth which the lie is made to mimic and counterfeit.

We have had a world of tales imposed upon the world about apparitions showing themselves to abundance of people, before, at, and after the late massacre in Ireland, anno 1641, and it would fill up a volume of itself to give an account of them ; nor is it possible to distinguish between those of them that are real, and those that were imaginary, especially at this distance of time ; but if I may believe the report of those that were upon the spot, and of others who received the accounts from the most judicious and most considering of those who were upon the spot, the fears and apprehensions of the people, especially in Dublin, where they expected the murderers would break in upon them every day, filled them with dream and phantasm, vision, and apparition, when indeed there was nothing in it but their own dreadful apprehensions.

Nor could they be so much blamed as in other

cases, for here were people escaped from the murderers, even out of their very hands; some that had seen their wives, children, fathers, mothers, husbands, neighbours, butchered before their faces; and no wonder if these had the images of death before their eyes, after they arrived; no wonder if they had apparitions and visions of the like mischiefs every hour.

No wonder if they saw clouds of Irish armies in the air, heard shrieks of dying murdered women and children, and that they vouched these things with the utmost solemnity. Now it is true in the common notions of humanity, one could not but pity those poor people, and give allowance to their fears, and to the fright and horrors that were upon their minds; yet it does not at all follow that we, who are not under the same impressions, must come into the delusion with them, give up our understanding and our reason to their imagined visions.

We are to judge of those things by the rules by which we ought to judge in like cases; and after you have made allowances for the terrors and fright which the poor people might be in them, we should consider the rational part, for where the apparition is real, the rational part is always apparent as well as the visionary part: for example,

What apparitions came from a good hand, and for the good of the innocent people, whose dangers were so imminent, would certainly come in some space of time before the danger, either so as to give opportunity of escape, or at least preparatory warnings that the people might have time to look up to heaven, which the butchering enemy would not spare them; and such apparitions as these I should be inclined to give the most heed to: but of these we read of very few.

On the other hand, to what purpose could apparitions show themselves afterward? and from

whom did they come? If the souls of the murdered protestants could appear and cry for revenge, why did they not all appear, as well as one woman at Bandon bridge? Why did they not haunt the murderers in a most frightful manner, and terrify them night and day, till they brought their own guilt to be the worst of apparitions to them?

Why did not the terror of blood lie upon them, like a constant devil harassing their souls, and terrifying them till they were made their own executioners? We saw none of these things happen either to them, or to the murderers, actors, and directors, of the Parisian massacre. Charles IX, king of France, by whose direction it was all managed, died as composed, without any repentance for it, as if he had never been concerned in it; calmly giving directions for the administration of the affairs of the government after him, and told his mother how to act with the Huguenots, till his brother the king of Poland should arrive.

In Ireland, the priests and zealots, nay, the very women, boasted of the number they had killed; showed the skeins or daggers with which they cut the throats of the protestants; one so many, and another so many; their soldiers fought as fearless after it as before, nor did any apparition haunt them, that ever I met with any account of.

On the other hand, for the Devil's disturbing them, I see no reason in it; the Devil was not at all displeased with the fact; what should he disturb them for? he would rather appear to assist them, encourage them, harden them in it, take all remorse from them, and reproach them with cowardice if they showed the least inclination to pity, though I don't hear of the least blame the Devil himself could lay upon them of that kind.

As to apparitions, after it was over, I do not see

room to think them so much as rational ; there was not the least occasion of them, or use for them ; the mischief was done ; what could the invisible world have to say to anybody about it after it was done ? We do not read of any apparitions, voices, noises, signs, or wonders, at Jerusalem, after the temple was destroyed, though above a million of people are said, by Josephus to have perished there. There were signs and horrible noises, apparitions and voices before it, in several places, but none after it ; the miserable dead lay quiet in their heaps, graves they could not be called, and gave neither their friends or enemies any disturbance.

To conclude : the sham apparitions which people put upon themselves are indeed very many ; and our hypochondriac people see more devils at noon-day than Galilæus did stars, and more by many than ever really appeared. But this noways impeaches the main proposition, viz., that there are really and truly apparitions of various kinds ; and that spirits or angels, call them what we will, inhabitants of the invisible and empty spaces, do visit us here upon many occasions, either for good or evil, as he who made them is pleased to direct.

The general end and design of Providence in suffering such things, and the use and application to ourselves, which we are directed to make of them in common prudence ; how far they are, or are not mercifully restrained from hurting us, and even from terrifying and affrighting us, if our reason could be our governor in such cases, with a great number of examples in story of the effect of such apparitions as have been allowed to visit mankind, whether peaceably or otherwise ; these would take up a great deal more room : but I am run my length in the present relation, and the reader must be content to draw consequences for himself from what is said, to guide his judgment in the variety of such cases as

may happen: his only way, in our opinion, is to keep an even pace between apprehension and contempt; neither to fear or desire them; but resolve to act with the calmness and courage of a Christian, in whatever may be his case.

But, above all, I would beg my reading, merry friends, of the thoughtless kind, not to be so much surprised at the apparitions of their own brain; not to start and be frightened when they first make devils by daylight, and then see them in the dark; and as they may be assured they will hardly ever see anything worse than themselves, so let them resolve not to be scared at shadows, or amused with vapours; mistaking the Devil for an ass, and tell us of the saucer eyes of a pink-eyed bear; not fancy they see a hearse with headless horses, and take the night-cart for a fiery chariot, which, one would think, they might distinguish by their noses, unless they will own that their fear gave them a worse smell than that of the Devil.

THE END OF THE HISTORY OF APPARITIONS.
